

TRANSLATIONS OF EARLY DOCUMENTS

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF
CLEMENT
TO THE CORINTHIANS

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

St Basil the Great: A Study of Monasticism.

Cambridge University Press,
1913. 7s. 6d.

St Gregory of Nyssa: The Life of St Macrina.

S.P.C.K., 1916. 1s. 9d.

The Lausiac History of Palladius.

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New Testament Problems.

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S.P.C.K., 1937. 1s.

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THE FIRST EPISTLE OF
CLEMENT
TO THE CORINTHIANS

EDITED BY

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INTRODUCTION

I. THE CHURCH OF ROME IN THE FIRST CENTURY

SINCE Christianity arose out of Judaism, we must first look at the Jewish community in Rome. This has been treated so brilliantly by G. La Piana in his monograph "Foreign Groups in Rome during the First Centuries of the Empire" (*Harvard Theological Review*, 1927) that it is sufficient to summarise some of his conclusions. His frequent references to the parallel story of the assimilation of foreign groups in the United States make his description particularly interesting and life-like.

All Oriental religions in Rome were at first the religions of foreign groups. Their adherents were largely slaves and freedmen, who as a result of many years of wars during the later Republic were drawn from all the known world, but were predominantly Greek and Oriental. Free immigrants mostly belonged to the better educated classes, either merchant or professional. Foreigners kept together as much as possible, especially the Jews, and so resisted the assimilating genius of Rome for a long while. Christianity, for example, remained exotic until the end of the second century.

The first noteworthy influx of Jews was after Pompey's capture of Jerusalem in 62 B.C., when many were brought to Rome as slaves. Their unwillingness to work amicably with fellow-slaves led their masters to emancipate many of them before long. The average number of Jews in the first century A.D. was about 50,000. They were organised by synagogues, of which thirteen are known by name. These represented different places of origin, so that the propensity to keep together applied even to small groups within the group. The

synagogues exercised self-discipline on a voluntary basis. The community as a whole was ruled by a council representing the various synagogues; there was no monarchical head, as in Alexandria¹. (This may have a bearing on the problem of the Christian ministry.) The Jews were mostly labourers and small tradesmen. Attached to the synagogues were schools, in which the Greek Bible was studied. Their language was Greek and during the troubles of A.D. 66–70 they seem to have shown no sympathy with their brethren in Palestine. The synagogue services consisted of prayers, readings from the Scriptures, and discourses based on the readings.

Judaism, as the Roman writers noticed, had considerable attracting power. It offered monotheism in an age when local cults were breaking down; ideally at least it was universalist. But only four or five out of some hundreds of inscriptions in the Jewish cemeteries contain proselytes' names. The food laws and circumcision prevented sympathisers from taking the final step. Much more numerous were the "Godfearers", who attended the synagogues and formed an outer fringe of monotheists. These, it is certain, provided the majority of converts to Christianity, in Rome as elsewhere. Much that is puzzling in 1 Clement falls into its place when we realise that the community from which it comes was formed originally out of the "Godfearers" attached to the Hellenistic synagogues (Greeks and Orientals, not Romans), who had been drawn to the most virile of the foreign cults.

Such is the background on which we must paint our picture of the Roman Church. The Church seems to have had no "founder" in the technical sense. Certainly St Peter had not visited the capital when St Paul wrote Rom. xv. 20, disclaiming the idea of building on another man's foundation.

¹ Later writers maintain that there were only local councils, of the separate synagogues.

The news of the Messiah's coming, death and resurrection, will have reached Rome soon after Pentecost, the city being in touch with Jerusalem through the "sojourners from Rome" (Acts ii. 10). The first definite information dates from A.D. 49, when, so Suetonius tells us, Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome because of the disturbances "instigated by Chrestus" (*impulsore Chresto*, *Claud.* 25), which almost certainly is a garbled version of some disputes about the Messiah. In Acts xviii. 2, 3 we find St Paul lodging at Corinth with Aquila and Priscilla, who had lately come from Rome because of Claudius' decree. As he goes there immediately, and the household of Stephanas is "the firstfruits of Achaia" (I Cor. xvi. 15), the inference is that Aquila and his wife are Christians and give the Apostle first-hand information about the faith in Rome.

The Epistle to the Romans, written in 58 or 59, is less helpful than one might expect in reconstructing the background of the Church addressed, because we cannot be certain that St Paul was correctly informed, or that his arguments were exactly suited to the needs of the case. Still it is clear that the relation of Christians to the Law was a burning question and, in particular, that vegetarianism and the observance of the Sabbath divided them into two parties, "the weak" and "the strong", both of which had their rights safeguarded by St Paul. Scholars have not been agreed as to the relative importance of Jews and Gentiles in the Church, but probably "Godfearers" were the predominating element—Gentiles who, as we have seen, were already attached to the Synagogue and had appropriated to themselves the history and promises of Israel, without taking the final step of undergoing circumcision and adopting the strict food laws. Such persons would be readily attracted by a Judaism free from the shackles of nationalism.

It is often asserted that ch. xvi is part of a letter to Ephesus;

that it is absurd to suppose such a multitude of St Paul's friends in Rome. But there is nothing in the textual evidence to justify suspicion, and it is natural that many of the Jews expelled in 49, who had come into contact with the Apostle, when the decree was no longer enforced should find their way back to Rome. If this was the case, then so warm-hearted a man, writing to an unvisited Church, would emphasise every possible link and "send his love" to everyone he knew. It is worth noticing that the word "Church" is not used in the Epistle except in ch. xvi, and there, of Rome, only in reference to the "house-church" of Prisca and Aquila (*v.* 5). The mention in *v.* 15 of "Philologus and Julia, Nereus and his sister, and Olympas, and all the saints that are with them" suggests another house-church. Nothing is said about officers of the Church. The slight indications which alone we possess favour the conclusion that such organisation as existed followed the lines of the Jewish synagogues, only that house-churches were the rallying points for those who had broken away from the synagogues. But presumably there were leaders to whom the Epistle was delivered.

St Luke's account in Acts xxviii depicts St Paul's meeting with the chief men of the Jews, perhaps the Council of the synagogues, who were ready to give a hearing to the man who had written with such authority to the Christians; they were aloof in their attitude and declared that the sect had a bad name everywhere—significant in view of what was to happen in 64. St Paul followed his practice of appealing to his own people first. Some were favourably impressed, but he formally renounced the mission to the Jews as hopeless.

If the Captivity Epistles (Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, Philemon) were written from Rome—and, attractive as the Ephesus-hypothesis is, Rome, where we know St Paul was imprisoned for two years, is more probable than Ephesus,

where imprisonment is only surmised—they contribute a little fresh information. There was continual coming and going of Christians between Rome and the East; the praetorian guard was favourably impressed (Phil. i. 13; but *praitorion* outside Rome means the local centre of government); Aristarchus and Epaphras were fellow-prisoners, Mark and Luke in close touch with the Apostle. The mention of Clement in Phil. iv. 3 probably has no significance for the subject of our book. Perhaps about this time St Peter came to Rome. For the subsequent history of him and St Paul see section 5.

In 64 the great fire at Rome took place, followed by Nero's persecution of the Christians, which was intended to stifle the report that he was responsible for the fire. Our informant is Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 44), who wrote about the year 115 and represents the views of a Roman aristocrat. Christians were burned to death as a spectacle in the imperial gardens, and, hated as they were for "their secret crimes", sympathy was expressed for their cruel fate. Clement (vi. 1), describing the persecution, says that the Christians suffered through "jealousy". This may mean that the Jews vented their wrath on the renegades. "Some were seized", says Tacitus, "and confessed; then on their information a vast multitude were convicted not so much of arson as of hatred of the human race." What they confessed is unknown. It is suspected that Tacitus had heard a garbled version of the eschatological teaching of the Christians, which included a destruction of the wicked city by fire. Compare Rev. xviii. 8–10: "she shall be utterly burned with fire... the smoke of her burning. ... Woe, woe, the great city, Babylon, the strong city! for in one hour is thy judgment come." The complete contrast between the temper of the Apocalypse on one side and that of St Paul and Clement on the other is puzzling. It is hard to suppose that the apocalyptic and vindictive strain had completely died out in the Roman Church by 96; indeed,

the second-century reception of the Apocalypse in Rome is proof to the contrary. So the calm forgiving spirit of Clement is the more marvellous.

After the death of St Peter, his follower Mark wrote the Second Gospel. Irenaeus (*Against Heresies*, iii. 1) states that "Matthew published his Gospel among the Hebrews in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the Church in Rome. After their death Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also transmitted to us in writing those things which Peter had preached." The mention of Rome implies that St Mark's Gospel was written in that city. Irenaeus goes on to record the writing of a Gospel by "Luke, an attendant of Paul", apparently meaning that this Gospel was also written in Rome. He doubtless reproduces the view which was held in the Roman Church, but the description of the First Gospel is not borne out by modern criticism and the rest of his statement may be inaccurate. Certainly Clement shows no trace of knowing St Mark. See section 9.

The First Epistle of St Peter, if written by the Apostle, must be dated shortly before his death. Why he calls Rome in v. 13 "Babylon", the apocalyptic title, in a letter taking a non-apocalyptic view of the State, which is accepted in a way that reminds us of Clement, is puzzling. The Epistle to the Hebrews, with which Clement was so familiar, introduces us to a completely different strain of thought. The greeting in xiii. 24 from "the Italians", coupled with Clement's knowledge of the Epistle, leads us to suppose that Rome was either the sender or the recipient of the Epistle.

A good deal, therefore, is known or may be surmised about the Roman Church prior to the Domitianic persecution. It is safe to say that no amount of study would enable us to divine the kind of letter that the Church was likely to write in 96, if the actual Epistle of Clement had perished.

2. THE DOCUMENT

The Epistle had a great influence in antiquity. Polycarp's Epistle is permeated by its language (see Lightfoot, *S. Clement of Rome*, i. 149–152). The Shepherd of Hermas probably knew it; the Letter of the Smyrnaeans describing Polycarp's martyrdom certainly did. Irenaeus gives a brief summary (*Haer.* iii. 3). Hegesippus (c. 170; see Eus. *H.E.* iv. 22) made some remarks about the Epistle, which are not preserved by Eusebius, in connection with Corinth. In Eus. iv. 23 we hear of Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth (c. 170), who wrote a series of Catholic Epistles to Churches, some of them as far away as Crete and Pontus, very much as Rome had written to Corinth. Eusebius quotes from a letter of his "to the Romans, addressed to Soter, the then bishop", commending their care for the brethren shown by material help and words of exhortation. Dionysius adds: "This day, therefore, we spent as a holy Lord's day, in which we read your epistle; from the reading of which we shall always be able to obtain admonition, as also from the former Epistle written to us through (διὰ) Clement." Later references down to the Middle Ages will be found in Lightfoot's edition. The Epistle was especially honoured in the East. The most striking testimonies to its status are its insertion in MSS. of the Bible, mentioned below, and the luxuriant growth of legend found in the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, where he is consecrated bishop by St Peter and is himself a member of the imperial family.

Lastly, the quotations in Clement of Alexandria are numerous enough to make this Father a minor witness to the text.

It is surprising that so important a document should have disappeared from the knowledge of scholars until 1628, when the Codex Alexandrinus was brought to England as Cyril

Lucar's present to Charles I. This MS. of the Greek Bible (A) is now in the British Museum. At the end of the New Testament come the two Epistles of Clement. (The Second Epistle contains nothing to connect it with Clement and is now generally referred to as "a second-century Homily by an unknown author".) The Epistles were published in 1633 by Patrick Young. In the First Epistle lvii. 7–lxiii is missing, i.e. one page, and there are other defects. Lightfoot's first edition, published in 1869, was based on this MS. only.

The Constantinople MS. (C) was published in 1875 by Bryennios, having been overlooked by visitors to the Phanar Library. It contains our Epistle, 2 Clement, the Epistle of Barnabas, the *Didache*, and other (not New Testament) documents. Harnack considered C to be of equal value to A; Lightfoot that it is inferior to A. It was written in 1056, A in the fifth century.

A Syriac MS. (S), acquired by the Cambridge University Library in 1876, was written in 1170 (1169, Lake). It treats 1 and 2 Clement as Scripture, dividing them, with the rest of the New Testament, into lections. They are placed between the Catholic Epistles and the Pauline. They were not published until 1899.

The Latin version (L) is found in one MS. only, written perhaps in the eleventh century. It was published in 1894, and is thought to go back to the second or third century.

A Coptic version (K) on papyrus is in Berlin. It dates from about 400 and has xxxiv. 5–xlii. 2 missing. Fragments of another Coptic version are to be found in Strasbourg.

3. AUTHORSHIP

Three Clements in early Church history have been identified with our author.

(a) A certain Clement is mentioned by St Paul (Phil. iv. 3) as one of his fellow-labourers, apparently at Philippi. Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 15) identifies him with Clement of Rome; the identification is just possible but most unlikely.

(b) Titus Flavius Clemens was consul in 95 with Domitian, being first cousin of the Emperor. On resigning his consulship he was put to death on a charge of "atheism", connected with the adoption of Jewish customs. His wife Domitilla was banished. Domitilla seems to have been a Christian, and to have founded the Cemetery of Domitilla for Christians. A consul can hardly have been a professing Christian, but his wife's religion would be a convenient excuse for his execution. Our Clement, who was clearly not a Roman by race, may have been a freedman of Clement's household. The later Clementine literature may have been led by this fact to make him a member of the imperial family and the consul's death may have been transferred to him, thus making him a martyr for the faith. Everything is conjectural and nothing can be added to Lightfoot's presentation of the facts.

(c) The Shepherd of Hermas (*Vis.* ii. 4) records a vision in which the ancient lady says: "You shall write two little books and send one to Clement and one to Grapte. Clement then shall send it to the cities abroad, for with that duty he has been entrusted; and Grapte shall exhort the widows and orphans." This is a famous *crux*. The Muratorian Fragment (c. 200) says that the Shepherd was written in the episcopate of Pius (140–154). The Clement here mentioned is a kind of foreign secretary of the Roman Church. His work as here described coincides so exactly with that of the writer of the Epistle, as it appears from internal evidence and from

Dionysius of Corinth's mention of the Epistle's having been written "through" Clement, that the two figures must be identical. Either the Muratorian Fragment is mistaken about the date, or Hermas is using material from an earlier book, or perhaps he is deliberately putting it on a background of forty or fifty years earlier. He must have had authentic information on the point.

"Clement of Rome" then was an official of the Church—hardly "*the* Bishop", or Hermas would not have equated him with Grapte, clearly a deaconess. He had known SS. Peter and Paul (Iren. *Haer.* iii. 3). He was probably a freedman of Titus Flavius Clemens. A Greek by origin (Judaism is so completely discarded in the Epistle that we cannot picture him a Jew by race), he had absorbed the Roman *ethos*.

The official list of Popes runs thus: Peter, 62–67; Linus, 67–78; Cletus, 78–90; Clement, 90–100. Irenaeus' order is Linus, Anacletus, Clement. Doubtless in some sense Clement was a bishop; see section 7 (*e*) for the problem of the monarchical episcopate.

Clement is said to have been martyred *c.* 100, but the Philocalian list of commemorations (354) does not mention him, or indeed any second-century Popes. All the early Popes are conventionally termed martyrs. In the Canon of the Mass "Linus, Cletus, Clement" follow the Apostles. For a full discussion the reader is referred to Lightfoot, with a caution that recent statements to the effect that archaeological research has corroborated tradition are over-confident. It makes rejection of tradition rash, but many unsolved difficulties remain.¹

¹ G. M. Bevan's *Early Christians of Rome* is a short and scholarly account of the subject.

4. OCCASION OF THE EPISTLE—DATE— CONTENTS

News had reached Rome that certain presbyters of blameless life had been deposed, presumably with the consent of the majority. However much we may suspect a revolt of “charismatics”, relying on utterances of the Spirit, against the regular ministry, Clement’s language does not justify us in finding any other motive than party spirit. The Corinthians were true to type, guilty of partisanship as in St Paul’s time; though there was some excuse then, for they enrolled under the banners of Paul, Peter and Apollos (xlvii). The ring-leaders were few in number (i. 1, xlvii. 6). The simplest solution is that they should choose voluntary exile for the good of the community (lv. 1). Chapter xli suggests that Christian worship was carried on at more than one centre; consequently there would be two groups of officiating presbyters, the deposed ones having a small following. The rebel leaders were young (iii. 3), the deposed presbyters had ministered to the flock without reproach for many years (xliv. 3). Further than this we cannot go with safety. Clement brings no charge of heresy, or of covetousness; he assumes that the new leaders will respond to an appeal to their best selves.

The date can be fixed with practical certainty. In ch. v we read of the Neronian persecution of 64. The opening of the Epistle explains that a succession of calamities has prevented the Church from paying attention to the crisis at Corinth. In vii. 1 the two persecutions are distinguished. The later one must therefore be connected with the reign of terror which was ended by the assassination of Domitian in 96. Or there may have been a lull a year or two earlier into which the letter could be fitted.

This common-sense conclusion is disputed from two sides. G. Edmundson, in *The Church of Rome in the First Century* (1913),

maintained that the recent persecutions of v. 1 cannot be a generation earlier than the time of writing. Therefore the disasters of i. 1 are those of the terrible year 69, when Galba, Otho, Vitellius and Vespasian occupied the throne, and Rome was twice sacked by soldiers. His other arguments are the primitive character of Church organisation, the fact that the Temple at Jerusalem is still standing (xli), and the appropriateness of the Phoenix story to an earlier date than 96 (xxv; see the notes on these passages). The view thus argued is not impossible, but has failed to commend itself. If the organisation is primitive, the general tone of the Epistle presupposes a generation later than SS. Peter and Paul. In xliv. 3 we read of presbyters of many years' standing, who were appointed by successors of the Apostles, and lxiii. 3 describes the Roman delegates as elderly men who have been Christians since their youth.

E. L. Merrill, on the contrary, puts the Epistle much later (*Essays in Early Church History*, 1923). The alleged persecution by Domitian never took place. Later Christian tradition made the bad Emperors persecutors and naturally coupled Domitian with Nero. Hegesippus (in Eus. iii. 20) tells us that the grandsons of Jude the Lord's brother were brought before Domitian, who dismissed them with scorn. Pliny the governor of Pontus, who had been in Rome at the end of Domitian's reign, had no experience of examinations of Christians and had to write to Trajan for guidance. The relevant passages are given by Lightfoot. The following may be mentioned. Dion Cassius (*Hist.* lxxvii. 14) tells of "many others" (besides Flavius Clement) who were condemned for their leanings towards Jewish customs. Melito (Eus. iv. 26) couples Domitian with Nero as an opponent of Christianity. Eusebius' *Chronicon* states that Domitian had the descendants of David executed (contradicted by Hegesippus, see above); and that Bruttius tells that "many Christians suffered

martyrdom under Domitian". Eusebius (iii. 17) also says that Domitian "was the second to stir up persecution against us". The question must be left open. Probably Domitian's cruelty had affected the Christians, without there having been a formal persecution of Christians as such.

Merrill uses the reference to Clement in Hermas (quoted above) to prove that the real Clement, to whom the Epistle was attributed, lived in Pius' episcopate (140-154), a date which is suitable on other grounds. All rivalry between Jewish and Gentile Christians has disappeared; the age of the Apostles is long past; Clement may be dependent on Polycarp, not *vice versa*. It might be argued that Edmundson's and Merrill's criticisms cancel out, driving us back to the traditional date. But each line of criticism is itself invalid. Edmundson's is refuted by the text of the Epistle: Merrill's by the apparent absence of knowledge of the Gospels, which even in 96 is hard enough to explain. Every decade after that date intensifies the difficulty. See section 9.

We conclude then that Clement wrote on behalf of the Roman Church in 96 to intervene in the Corinthian troubles; his letter may be summarised as follows:

Explanation of delay in writing. Praise of the Corinthian Church in the past (i, ii). Its present troubles (iii), caused by jealousy, of which O.T. examples are given (iv). The examples of Peter and Paul, and other martyrs (v, vi). The necessity of repentance, proved from Scripture (vii, viii). Examples of obedience (ix, x); of faith and hospitality (xi, xii). The need of humility, obedience, peaceableness (xiii-xv). Humility shown by Christ (xvi); by O.T. characters (xvii, xviii). Other reasons for peace (xix, xx). Exhortation to virtues (xxi-xxiii).

[Excursus on the Resurrection (xxiv-xxvii).]

The omniscience of God (xxviii). Christian privileges and duties (xxix, xxx). The faith of the patriarchs (xxxi, xxxii).

Good works and their reward (xxxiii–xxxvi). Reasons for subordination (xxxvii–xxxix).

Order in worship. Its apostolic authority; shown also in O.T. (xl–xliii). Application to Corinth (xliv), with O.T. illustrations (xlv). Schism to be eschewed (xlvi–xlviii). Love to be sought (xlix–l). Need of confession and forgiveness (li–liv); and of self-sacrifice (lv) and humility (lvi–lviii).

Liturgical and devotional close (lix–lxi). Summary of foregoing (lxii). Conclusion (lxiii–lxv).

5. SAINT PETER AND SAINT PAUL

Why did the Roman Church intervene in this way? A preliminary question concerns the relation of the Apostles to that Church. The evidence regarding the closing period of their lives is threefold: (a) the New Testament; (b) post-Clement; (c) the Epistle of Clement itself.

(a) The First Epistle of Peter *prima facie* testifies to the presence of the Apostle in Rome at a time when persecution was impending. Mark, whom we know to have been with Paul at Rome about 62 (Col. iv. 10, according to the usual interpretation), was with him. Peter's position was such that he could write an encyclical letter to the Churches of Asia, which were like the Church of Rome expecting persecution. Everything seems to suit a date just before Nero's attack on the Christians.

But there are many difficulties. The very favourable view taken of the State is unnatural in a time of persecution. It is precisely that of 1 Clement and is much more appropriate to the reign of Vespasian, when there was a minor "peace of the Church" (cf. Eus. iii. 17, "Vespasian made us the object of no evil designs"). The reference to the Church of Rome in v. 13 as "she that is in Babylon" is perplexing. Babylon is the apocalyptic title of Rome (see Rev. xiv. 8, xvi. 19, xvii. 5, xviii. 2), regarded as the heir to the prophetic denunciations

of the historic Babylon. In the Apocalypse it is used in a context of intense hate towards the oppressor. How does this piece of apocalyptic get into 1 Peter, whose standpoint otherwise is non-apocalyptic? For this reason, and because of difficulties connected with style, etc., many scholars consider that the Epistle is Petrine but not Peter's, and that the reference to Silvanus in v. 12 is to be interpreted in this sense. Perhaps the Roman Church, which wrote to Corinth "through" Clement (Dionysius of Corinth in Eus. iv. 23), at an early date had written to the Churches of Asia "through" Silvanus (διὰ is the preposition in both cases), on the former occasion using Peter's authority explicitly. If so, the difference between the contents of the two Epistles is so marked, the earlier being so clearly "apostolic" and "inspired" by contrast with the later, that genuine material from the Apostle's teaching must be assumed. But how did a Church which could write in the style of 1 Peter during the seventies come to forget what it once knew and write like Clement in 96? The New Testament evidence, we must conclude, is insufficient to enable us to say anything definite about St Peter's end.

The same conclusion must be reached about St Paul. No one knows why St Luke ended the Acts with the Apostle at Rome, preaching the Gospel, "none forbidding him", when author and readers knew of a glorious martyrdom. One explanation is that his great desire was to show Theophilus, an official, that Christianity, being the true Judaism, was a *religio licita* and that the attitude of the Roman magistrates had proved this. Looking back from the days of Vespasian, when the Neronian *régime* was universally repudiated, it might have seemed impolitic to emphasise an act of tyranny which was familiar to all, but did not represent the imperial policy at its best.

The Pastoral Epistles are another unsolved problem. That

they were written by St Paul in the sense that the Epistle to the Galatians was written is to a literary critic almost impossible to believe: that they are largely Pauline is obvious to most—between these two positions there is a large stretch of debatable land. From 2 Tim. iv. 16, 17, on the most natural interpretation, we deduce that the Apostle was released from captivity and engaged in further missionary activity and journeys. There is no suggestion, however, of a visit to Spain, which alone is indicated by later tradition.

(b) *Post-Clement evidence.* The living tradition of the Roman Church, reinforced by archaeological evidence going back to a time before the tradition was fixed in literary documents, is evidence which to some seems very strong: others are sceptical. The present resting-places of the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul go back to the time of Constantine, when the bodies were taken from the Catacomb of St Sebastian, to which they had been moved for safety in 258 during the persecution of Valerian. This, however, was a restoration to the original positions, as described by Gaius, a presbyter of Rome, about 200 (Eus. ii. 25): "But I myself can point out the trophies of the Apostles. For if it is thy will to proceed to the Vatican, or to the Ostian Way, thou wilt find the trophies of those who founded this Church." ("Trophies" means memorials and probably, though not necessarily, includes tombs.) Lietzmann (*Petrus und Paulus in Rom*) accepts this testimony of Gaius as incontrovertible. But it comes soon after the episcopate of Victor, which witnessed a rapid development in the self-consciousness of the Roman Church. Polycrates of Ephesus, writing to Victor (c. 190, see Eus. v. 24) in the Paschal controversy, lays stress on the "great luminaries" who have fallen asleep in Asia—Philip and his daughters, John, and others. This claim was in answer to the Roman claim to the bodies of Peter and Paul, or perhaps made it necessary for Rome to emphasise its possession of apostolic relics. Can we

be sure that the tombs were not found conveniently for the Roman case? Is tradition any safer here than in the case of Gervasius and Protasius, discovered at Milan by St Ambrose? He concludes that the scales are turned in favour of tradition by the evidence of 1 Clement, to which we now turn, after first noting the letter of Dionysius to the Romans (c. 170), which states that Peter and Paul "taught together in Italy, and were martyred on the same occasion" (Eus. ii. 25).¹

(c) *The evidence of 1 Clement.* Peter and Paul, the greatest "pillars" of the Church, were persecuted unto death. Peter after many trials in which he bore witness (μαρτυρήσας) went to his glorious reward. This is all. Death might have come to him outside Rome and even Italy. Paul after a life of heroic endurance went to Spain ("the limits of the West") and bore witness before the rulers and passed into the other world. The visit to Spain cannot be fitted into his life as known in the New Testament. But it must be accepted. That the official Church of Rome wrote a letter in which a falsehood was stated on a matter of no importance to the argument, though many in Rome and some in Corinth must have known it to be a falsehood, is an incredible supposition. The passage is a salutary warning that we soon reach the limits of our knowledge when we try to reconstruct the background of the New Testament documents. See the text and commentary on ch. v.

Taken by itself ch. v might suggest that Peter suffered first, Paul later, perhaps in Spain. But the next chapter describes the other martyrs of the Neronian persecution, who were added to the roll headed by the two Apostles. The natural deduction, therefore, is that Paul was released from captivity, went to Spain (probably the Greek colonies of the

¹ Ignatius, *Rom.* iv. 3, "I do not order you as did Peter and Paul", need not mean a visit to Rome. There may have been a tradition of some orders sent by letter by Peter, corresponding to the Epistle to the Romans.

Eastern Seaboard, some of which would have Jewish synagogues with proselytes—otherwise we should ask, how would he preach in Spain?), returned soon to Rome, and together with Peter was martyred in the Neronian persecution, the leaders being attacked first. The chain of evidence is not so strong as we should wish, but there is no reason to doubt that Peter and Paul preached at Rome, were martyred there, and were buried in the traditional places. It is unlikely that they were martyred “on the same occasion”; if this had been the case, they would probably have had a common grave.

6. THE AUTHORITY OF THE ROMAN CHURCH

Why did the Roman Church intervene in this impressive way?

(a) The Church was one, and what concerned one member was the concern of all. There was no complication of jealous European states such as confronts us to-day, when interference from abroad is sure to be misrepresented, if not resented.

(b) The letters of St Paul had set a precedent which was widely followed. An Epistle, a genuine letter indeed but sufficiently solemn in style to be read at gatherings for worship, was the recognised method of exercising influence, as we see from the example of the Catholic Epistles and the Letters to the Seven Churches in the New Testament, and from Ignatius, Dionysius, etc. subsequently.

(c) Corinth and Rome were closely linked. They had the same founders, as was supposed. “You have united”, says Dionysius of Corinth, “the planting that came from Peter and Paul, of both the Romans and the Corinthians. For indeed both planted also in our Corinth, and likewise taught us” (Eus. ii. 25). The supervision of the founder, exercised over Corinth by St Paul in his lifetime with the help of letters, would naturally seem to have devolved on the Church of the two Apostles. There is no suggestion of Petrine authority

and no appeal to Gospel texts; far more stress is laid on St Paul.

(d) To these considerations must be added those set out by R. van Cauwelaert in his essay "L'intervention de Rome à Corinthe vers l'an 96" in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, April 1935. The envoys, he says, merely go to take the letter and bring back news; they exercise no powers. Nothing in the letter suggests subordination of Corinth to Rome: the supreme authority is Scripture, the Corinthians must submit to their officers. The tone suggests Christian solidarity, not obedience of one Church to another. We know nothing of the effect produced at the time, though the letter was publicly read in the time of Dionysius; Rev. i–iii shows us a similar intervention taking place in the affairs of the Churches of Asia, probably at the same time, in which the Roman Church had no concern. There was, however, a special reason for a Roman intervention at Corinth, which has become clear of late thanks to American archaeological research.

Corinth was refounded as a Roman colony in 44 B.C. The colonists, who were freedmen with some Roman citizens, were antipathetic to the Greeks and established close relations with Rome. There were tribes, thirty senators (*decuriones*) nominated by the legate, local consuls (*duoviri*), aediles and quaestors. The divinities venerated are explained by Roman origin or by the Isthmian games. There were *pontifices*, *flamines*, etc. "In its official life, whether political or religious, Corinth appears in the first century as a city entirely and exclusively Roman, with an unmistakable note of Roman puritanism." Names on inscriptions, sculpture, architecture—all was Roman. Corinth was a *pied-à-terre* of Rome on Greek soil. Christians at Rome would have felt one with those at Corinth.

It may be asked whether a Greek-speaking community could write in Greek to a Corinthian one, actuated by a

feeling that both were essentially Latin. But, if Latin was the official language, the Christians at Corinth, being predominantly non-citizens, would be as Hellenistic, i.e. Jewish-Greek, as in St Paul's time. And Clement, who was so Roman in sentiment, even appealing to Roman military discipline as a model for the Christian Church, may well have been influenced by the prevailing sentiment and have looked upon Corinth as an outlying "parish" of Rome.

We conclude that 1 Clement has little bearing on the "Roman controversy". On the one hand Rome intervenes *proprio motu*, with a primacy of love which is a pattern to all future ages of what Church "interference" should be. On the other hand, there is no suggestion of any Petrine or papal authority. If intervention is construed in this sense, it must be on the lines of saying that the authority is implicit, it being left to subsequent generations to make explicit the reasons which prompted an instinctive action.

7. LEADING IDEAS

(a) *The Doctrine of God.*

God is for Clement primarily the Creator and Ruler of the universe. The characteristic title for him is "despot" (δεσπότης, translated "Lord" in this edition). He is "despot of all things" (viii. 2), "the great Creator and despot of all" (xx. 11); "Father and Creator" (xix. 2), "Creator and Father of the ages" (xxxv. 3). He is "the all-merciful and beneficent Father" (xxiii. 1). "Father" is clearly used in the sense of Creator rather than in the intimate sense of the Sermon on the Mount. Christianity is an earnest following of the will of the one God, whose sovereignty expressed in ordinances is the characteristic note in Clement's religion.

This God shows himself above all in Nature. He delights in good works, which we must emulate. A striking passage

is xxxiii. 7, 8 where God adorns himself with good works and we must imitate him. God's works are the ordinary operations of Nature. Miracles for Clement occur in the Old Testament: in his own generation he is content with the wonderful but not miraculous exploit of the Phoenix to illustrate the resurrection. There is no suggestion of God's "breaking through", as we say to-day. God proves the resurrection by, among other things, the succession of day and night.

For the Christian of to-day the Incarnation is central. He starts from ideal and perfect Sonship revealed in Christ, and imparted to us, as taught by St Paul and St John, and develops his idea of Father from this. Clement begins with "Natural Religion", to which he adds Christianity. There is no contradiction between his teaching and the deeper notes of Christian theology. Only, he and his circle assume the common ground of Hellenistic Judaism and Stoicism and have not had time to assimilate the new conceptions brought by Christianity. His Epistle illustrates admirably the line of approach to the Gentile world taken by the primitive Church—God is One, God is Ruler of all; he may be relied on to be beneficent and uniform. Before this message a host of dark beliefs about conflicting powers, capricious divinities, fate-determining stars, etc. fled away.

(b) *Christology*.¹

Christ pre-existed before the Incarnation (xxii. 1; cf. xlii. 1); he is the Lord (xii. 7, xvi. 17), associated with the Father and the Spirit—see (c) below. He "came" as "the sceptre of the majesty of God" (xvi. 2). He is "the way" through which "we found our salvation, the high priest of our infirmity" (xxxvi. 1). Through him we "gaze into the heights of heaven" (xxxvi. 2). We are "in Christ" (*passim*) and he is

¹ This summary is based on von Harnack's.

the Mediator, for we "flee to his (God's) compassions through Our Lord Jesus Christ" (xx. 11). The Church of God is "the flock of Christ" (xvi. 1, xliv. 3, etc.). "The Kingdom of God" (xlii. 3) is also "the Kingdom of Christ" (l. 3 in L and K). Spiritual food is "Christ's rations" (ii. 1, all MSS. except A). "The blood of Christ" brought salvation and is precious to the Father (vii. 4; cf. xii. 7, xxi. 6, xlix. 6).

The influence of the Epistle to the Hebrews is obvious, as also that of St Paul's Epistles. But the teaching in the main is practical and devotional rather than theological. It springs from the living tradition of the Church as does the teaching of the canonical books. Clement finds no difficulties, nothing that needs to be reconciled with his inherited conception of God the Creator, and for this very reason his testimony is the more impressive. The religion of the Epistle is what the teaching of Peter and Paul has stamped upon the heart of the Roman Church.

(c) *The Holy Spirit.*

It is generally held that the specifically Christian conception of the Holy Spirit originated in the abnormal psychological manifestations at Pentecost, which are also recorded as occurring in the assemblies of the Corinthian Church. But St Paul at least distinguished between the reality and its physical accompaniments, putting ecstasy in its true place. Clement's references to the Spirit are scanty but fall into line with St Paul's teaching. The Spirit is co-ordinated with the Father and Christ: "Have we not one God and one Christ and one Spirit of grace poured out upon us?" (xlvi. 6); "as God liveth, and the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, and the Holy Spirit, the faith and hope of the elect" (lviii. 2). "A full outpouring of the Holy Spirit came upon all" (the Corinthians, ii. 2) need not imply any form of ecstasy. Rather the Holy Spirit is thought of as inspiring God's people in all

ages. He speaks in the Old Testament by the prophets (viii. 1), and at the end of the Epistle Clement bids the Corinthians pay heed to what "we have written through the Holy Spirit". It is the same Spirit in both dispensations; but Clement writes with deliberation and Roman *gravitas*—there is no suggestion of prophetic and ecstatic inspiration.

(d) *The Church.*

Scholars of the last generation engaged in lengthy discussions of 1 Clement which now seem largely irrelevant. Presupposing that primitive Christianity was "charismatic", essentially "free" and dominated by prophets, they saw in the Epistle the beginnings of a new order, in which law and organisation predominated; Clement, in fact, inaugurated Catholicism. This is all beside the mark. The Church of Rome at the end of the century assuredly had no consciousness of innovation. It taught what it had received from St Paul a generation before. The Church was a divine institution expressing itself on earth in outward forms. It was one, so that Rome and Corinth thought of themselves as "we", but each local Church was a microcosm of the whole. The Church also felt itself to be one with the people of God in the Old Testament and unsuspectingly took over the sacred books as its title-deeds. The battle with Judaism which St Paul had been compelled to wage belonged to a past era. The adjustments had been made and his interpretation of the Law was no longer a living issue. If St Peter's mind were as well known to us as St Paul's we might be able to demonstrate that Clement was in the main stream of tradition, best represented by St Peter.

That tradition was already all-important is the most natural thing possible. What else could humble-minded Christians, for whom Christ was all, do but cherish the memories and teaching of the two "pillars" of the house of God—Paul the

superb missionary and teacher, and Peter who had come to them straight from the Lord Jesus?¹

(e) *The Ministry.*

This is not the place to discuss once more the difficult question of what Church organisation is to be deduced from the Epistle.² All that is necessary here is to formulate some of the problems. These really are insoluble by themselves; solutions are only possible when the problems are set in a background of a discussion of all the relevant documents, which however are too scanty and ambiguous in their data to allow any solution to be generally acceptable. One suspects that the mental background of the writers and their unconscious assumptions were so different from ours that what they wrote cannot be used to settle modern controversies.

(i) It may be assumed that the organisation at Rome and that at Corinth were substantially the same. Now it is practically certain that there was no monarchical bishop at Rome some twenty years later, when Ignatius, who in six other letters lays emphasis on the bishop of the Church addressed, writing to the Romans maintains a significant silence on the subject. This does not exclude the possibility that one of the bishops presided, and perhaps represented the Church in external relations, so that naturally, when episcopacy as now understood became universal, he was considered to have been *the* bishop in the later sense. Clement indeed may have been such a bishop and may therefore be rightly included in the list of popes; but there is no hint of a person in this position at Corinth, which in its organisation must have been of the Roman (and Alexandrian) type rather than the Asiatic and Syrian of Ignatius' Epistles.

¹ See the essay "The Church of God" in the writer's *Divine Humanity* for a summary of modern views on the N.T. idea of the Church.

² The writer has done this in the opening essay of *Episcopacy Ancient and Modern*.

(ii) Clement mentions "rulers" (ἡγούμενοι, i. 3, and προηγούμενοι, xxi. 6) in a general sense, to whom reverence must be paid. Are they identical with the presbyters and bishops (or presbyter-bishops) of xlii and xliv?

(iii) In xlii the Apostles are said to have appointed "bishops and deacons". In xliv Clement speaks of ejecting blameless men from the episcopate and goes on to felicitate the presbyters who have finished their course and are beyond the reach of such treatment. Are bishops and presbyters, then, identical? Or, especially in view of "presbyters" being used elsewhere in the Epistle for elder men, are presbyters the class from which bishops are drawn, so that all bishops are presbyters but not all presbyters are bishops?

(iv) The hardest question of all is the identification of the other persons mentioned in xliv. The Apostles appointed bishops and then provided that "if they should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministry". Does Clement mean those who succeeded to the first bishops or to the Apostles? The former, is the usual answer. But he goes on to speak of bishops being removed from their ministry, though they have been appointed by the Apostles or "by other eminent men", which suggests that he means in the first sentence successors to the Apostles. If so, can he refer to a kind of super-local ministry with authority like that of Timothy and Titus in the Pastoral Epistles?

(v) No satisfactory answer can be given to these questions. But attention is drawn to two considerations which may have a bearing on the problem. When the Christians had left the synagogues they had no places for common worship, other than the houses of well-to-do members of the community, large enough to accommodate a number of persons. As the Church in a city grew, these meeting-places were multiplied. We know of "house-churches" at Rome and Corinth as early as St Paul's Epistles (Rom. xvi. 5, and perhaps 14; 1 Cor. xvi.

15, 19). There was also the difficulty of what we should call “daughter-churches” in the suburbs or at a distance from the capital. We hear of Phoebe, “a servant of the Church that is at Cenchreae” (Rom. xvi. 1). Certainly in Italy the “jurisdiction”—if the word at this early period is not an anachronism—of the Church of Rome always extended far beyond the city border, as was also the case at Alexandria. There may have been a stage when certain presbyters were made “bishops” of house-churches, the bishops forming a kind of council for certain purposes, though one “church” was central and its bishop in a special position. See p. 2 for the Jewish organisation in Rome. The emphasis on the one appointed place of worship in xl–xli suggests that the Corinthians needed this lesson of unity safeguarded by the one assembly. Later the Church solved the problem by having a central place of worship under the one bishop, supplemented by local centres under the presbyters.

(vi) The examples of order given by Clement—the Roman army with its officers and men (xxxvii) and the Old Testament hierarchy as opposed to the laity (xl–xli)—show that the Church has already taken the vital decision of separating the ministry from the laity. But the step is purely practical in its aim and due to the necessity of preserving “order”. The Church has an organic unity as the body of Christ; it is also his flock. A loyal member will obey “what is commanded by the community” (liv. 2). The officers are appointed “with the approval of the whole Church” (xliv. 3).¹

¹ For the problems here sketched cf. A. von Harnack, *Das Schreiben der Römischen Kirche an die Korinthische*; F. Gerke, *Die Stellung des ersten Clementsbriefes innerhalb der Entwicklung der altchristlichen Gemeindeverfassung und des Kirchenrechts*; K. Müller, “Die älteste Bischofswahl und -weihe in Rom und Alexandrien” in *Zeitschrift für die N.T.liche Wissenschaft*, 1929, pp. 274–296.

(f) *Paulinism: The Atonement, Justification, etc.*

Clement has a devotion to "the blood of Christ" (vii. 4, xii. 7, xxi. 6, xlix. 6) and clearly intends to teach St Paul's doctrine of faith. An instructive example is xxxii. 4, where we are said to be "justified not through ourselves or through our own wisdom or understanding or piety or works which we have wrought in holiness, but through faith"—so far this is pure Paulinism. But he adds: "through which Almighty God has justified all from the beginning". If so, what has Christ brought? Seemingly, the death of Christ has made universal the salvation which already existed. In x. 1 faith (Abraham's) is defined as becoming "obedient to the words of God". Rahab in xii. 1 is saved "by faith *and hospitality*". In xxx. 3 we are "justified by works". Abraham was blessed "because he wrought righteousness and truth in faith" (xxx. 2).

Clement, then, took over "justification by faith" from St Paul but quite failed to appreciate what was meant. We may suppose him to be typical, and that the Epistle to the Romans was thus interpreted by the Church which received it. To conclude that Clement was deliberately reconciling the teaching of St Paul and St James would not be a historical judgment.

(g) *Eschatology.*

Within ten years or thereabouts of one another three great men were writing Christian books, which differ so widely in their attitude towards eschatology as to make all generalisations about the beliefs of the early Church very precarious.

The Apocalypse, which, though using earlier material of different origin, in its present form was occasioned by the cruelties of Domitian's reign, is characterised by intense eschatological expectation. The present aeon is dying, the new one is being born amidst pain and woe unutterable. The Roman State, which is anti-God and anti-Christ, is about to

endure terrible tortures; but Christians will be preserved for bliss. The gorgeous poetry and the devotional value of parts of the Apocalypse should not blind us to the sub-Christian character of much of the rest. Its author had not learned Christ as Clement had.

Our second writer is the Fourth Evangelist, who teaches "realised eschatology". C. H. Dodd explains this term in his book *The Apostolic Preaching and its Development*. The earliest Christians lived in expectation of the inauguration of the New Age. The growth of the Gospels belongs to a later stage, when the outlook of believers had changed and more interest began to be taken in the details of Christ's earthly ministry; it was then that the fragments were collected which from the first had been used by preachers. St Mark's Gospel is set in a framework of realised eschatology—the Messiah has come, God's Kingdom is present in the person of his Son, the miracles are the proof. St Matthew reverts to a future eschatology, a Kingdom still to come. For St John, like St Mark, eschatology is realised—but in a quite different manner. Eternal Life, enjoyed so fully now that the future has little more to offer, has for him taken the place of the Messianic Kingdom.

Clement's outlook is a startling contrast to that of his contemporaries. The Neronian persecution and the cruelties of Domitian arouse no resentment; he calmly says: "We are in the same arena, and the same contest is before us" (vii. 1). He has settled down in the world, being patriotically proud of the Roman Empire and praying for the grace of obedience to its rulers. Unlike the author of 2 Peter who saw all earthly things as about to be dissolved, he contemplates the majestic course of Nature in a chapter (xx) which presupposes the permanence, if not the eternity, of Nature. He does indeed speak of "judgments to come" (xxviii. 1), but they are most naturally interpreted in the light of vii. 1. The reference in

xliv. 5 to the Corinthian presbyters who have finished their course and are now secure in their place of peace, taken together with the rest of the Epistle, suggests that Clement thought of believers living a life in the world of normal length, unless cut short by bad rulers who were not representative of the Empire, and then dying and going to heaven—exactly as the vast majority of Christians have always thought. Two somewhat conventional eschatological utterances (xxiii. 5, a quotation from Malachi, of the Lord suddenly coming to his temple, and l. 3, “the visitation of the Kingdom of God”) do not affect the truth of this conclusion. The Kingdom for Clement was something in the future, which did not prevent his coming to terms with this world. See the next section.

(h) Relation to the State.

St Paul in Romans xiii had taught submission to the State for conscience sake. Clement develops his teaching, in spite of the persecutions. Christians are as it were soldiers in the Lord’s army; the discipline of the legion is a pattern for their imitation (xxxvii). The prayer in lxi goes much further than anything in the New Testament. May we be obedient to God “and to our governors and rulers on earth”! God has given them “glory and honour” that we “may be subject to them, in no respect opposing thy will”. May they have all temporal blessings, “that they may administer the rule given them by thee without offence”! For God has given “to the sons of men glory and honour, and authority over the things which are on earth”.

We find in Clement the beginnings of the traditional teaching of the Church concerning the two realms of Nature and Grace, over both of which God is King. At a time when some earnest Christians are disposed to despair of the State, and to retire into the inner world of grace where public

affairs cannot penetrate, it is salutary to reflect upon the noble faith of these persecuted Roman Christians.

(i) *Morality.*

It is generally recognised that the code of domestic morality, called by the Germans *Die Haustafeln*, which was generally accepted in the Mediterranean world, by Jew and Gentile alike, is represented in the New Testament. "Gentiles which have no law do by nature the things of the law", says St Paul in Rom. ii. 14; Jewish and Greek morality were substantially identical. The moral exhortations, then, of Col. iii. 18ff., Eph. v. 22ff., Tit. ii. 1-10, much in 1 Tim., and 1 Pet. ii. 13-iii. 7 are Christianised versions of the morality of the time, such as a Stoic would have accepted as expressing his own ideals. The Epistle of Clement follows the same line. His moral teaching is derived from the Old Testament, from specifically Christian sources, and from Greek philosophy and ethics. There is even an element which goes back to Platonism, seen in the "beauty" of the gifts which God is preparing (xxxv. 3); cf. xlix. 3: "Who is able to express the greatness of his beauty?" The Corinthian disturbances are described in terms of the traditional "sedition" (στάσις). Discretion (σωφροσύνη) is a characteristic virtue. Citizenship is frequently employed as a metaphor for the Christian life, a usage which goes back to St Paul. There is no need to labour the point; anyone who studies the Epistle and eliminates the Biblical elements may safely regard what is left as common ground to Christianity and the best pagan morality.

8. THE OLD TESTAMENT

Clement's quotations from the Old Testament are studied in detail by W. Sanday, *The Gospels in the Second Century*, pp. 26-31, and H. B. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, pp. 406-411. The latter concludes that more than half

of the passages agree substantially with our text of the LXX. Some sixteen quotations are conflation of two or more passages. He notes that, where Clement and the New Testament quote the same passages of the LXX, Clement, while generally supporting the A text, is less opposed to the B text than the New Testament writers are; occasionally he shows a tendency to agree with Theodotion or even with Aquila.

The sources of the quotations are given in the notes to this edition. Clearly Clement quoted with great freedom, often from memory. Sometimes the divergence shows either that he is using apocryphal books or that the text of the canonical books differed widely from that known to us.

Whether he used a Book of *Testimonia* is doubtful. That the early Christians compiled collections of Messianic proof-texts is certain. But Clement's choice is so wide, and goes so far beyond passages which could be interpreted of the Messiah, that it seems best to attribute it to a knowledge based upon long continued study (see p. 2). Ignatius and Hermas make practically no use of the Old Testament, so that Clement's method is characteristically his own. But he clearly supposes a Church at Corinth with the same reverence for Scripture as he has himself.

The Old Testament is for him the expression of God's will; only occasionally does he name the authors in question. That the ordinances of the Law were designed for the needs of a particular people makes no difference to him. All is taken over and applied to the Christians; unlike Barnabas, he passes the Jewish problem over in silence. The extraordinary difficulty of his position seems to have been hidden from his perception. We conclude that he must have grown up with this view, which is substantially that of certain circles of later Judaism. A Philo without the refining instinct and the genius for speculation of the Philo we know would have taken the

same line as Clement does in the not specifically Christian parts of this Epistle.

9. THE NEW TESTAMENT

This section must be of some length in view of the importance of its subject. It is divided into four parts: (a) The Gospels; (b) Pauline Epistles (certain references); (c) Pauline Epistles (uncertain); (d) other books.¹

(a) *The Gospels.*

1 Clement xiii. 2 is introduced by “remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, which he spake when he taught gentleness and long-suffering”, which seems to suggest a collection of sayings arranged under subjects, in this case “gentleness and long-suffering”. It runs as follows: “Be merciful, that ye may obtain mercy; forgive, that it may be forgiven you. As ye do, so shall it be done to you; as ye give, so shall it be given to you; as ye judge, so shall ye be judged; as ye are kind (χρηστεύεσθε), so shall ye be kindly treated. With what measure ye mete, with that it shall be measured to you.”

With this we compare Matt. v. 7: “Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy. . . (vi. 14) If ye forgive men their trespasses. . . (vii. 12) All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them. . . (vii. 2) For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you.”

And Luke vi. 36–37: “Be ye merciful. . . release, and ye shall be released. . . (31) As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise. . . (38) Give, and it shall be given unto you. . . (37) And judge not, and ye shall not

¹ See, besides the editions of Clement, W. Sanday, *The Gospels in the Second Century* (1876), pp. 58–70; *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford, 1905).

be judged. . . (38) For with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again."

The passage of Clement is variously judged by scholars. On the whole it seems probable that he is quoting from a collection of sayings and not from the canonical Matthew or Luke. "Remembering" suggests a source familiar to both Rome and Corinth and does not suit either a free composition of well-known sayings or an oral tradition. The word "kind" appears in Justin's *Apology*, xv. 13: "Be kind (χρηστοί) and merciful, as also your Father is kind and merciful."

The other passage (xlvi. 8) is introduced similarly—"remember the words of Jesus Our Lord." It continues: "Woe to that man! It were good for him if he had not been born, rather than cause one of my elect to stumble; it were better for him that a millstone were hung round him and he cast into the depths of the sea, than that he pervert one of my elect." The Gospel parallels are Matt. xxvi. 24 (Mark xiv. 21; Luke xxii. 22) and Luke xvii. 2 (Matt. xviii. 6; Mark ix. 42). Clement differs from them about as much as they differ from one another, and seems to be using an independent version. The relation of the two passages, each introduced by "remember", to the Gospel parallels reminds us of the relation of the sayings of Jesus in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, each introduced by "Jesus says", to their Gospel parallels.

Stronger evidence than either passage is afforded by xv. 2: "This people honoureth me with the lips, but their heart is far from me", which gives Isa. xxix. 13 in a form very near to that of Mark vii. 6. But Clement quotes the passage in a series of Old Testament quotations. It also appears in precisely the same form in 2 Clem. iii. 5, introduced by "it says also in Isaiah". That Clement knew St Mark's Gospel and betrayed the fact only by the text of a LXX quotation is improbable.

We must face the dilemma: either Mark, the Roman Gospel,

to which the prestige of St Peter was attached, was unknown at Rome in 96, or it was known but disregarded. The Roman Church may have been very unlike our preconceived opinion of it, but could it have been so constituted as to appeal to the Petrine tradition but ignore the Petrine Gospel? May we not suppose that Mark, even if he wrote the Gospel in Rome, took it with him when he went, according to tradition, to Alexandria? In that case copies would have been made in Egypt, from which centre they reached Matthew and Luke before a copy was received at Rome. Such a speculation is easier to accept than the common view that Mark's Gospel was kept at Rome and a copy reached the author of Matthew, perhaps at Antioch, who received it as authoritative, but that the Church of Rome attached no importance to the archetype.

There is nothing in Clement to support Irenaeus' statement (see p. 6) about the Roman origin of Luke, and no trace of Johannine teaching.

(b) *Pauline Epistles (certain references).*

The Epistle to the Romans, as we should expect, is quoted several times and its style has influenced Clement in places where there is no formal quotation. In view of the close connection between Rome and Corinth we may suppose that a copy of the Epistle existed at Corinth, just as 1 Corinthians was known at Rome. "Take up the epistle of blessed Paul the Apostle" says Clement (xlvii. 1), and he frequently refers to it; his Prologue is based on the opening of 1 Corinthians. Whether 2 Corinthians was known is doubtful. In any case it was less suitable for his purpose. The phrasing of v. 6 may be based on 2 Cor. xi. 23, xxxvi. 2 on 2 Cor. iii. 18. The quotation in xiii. 1 ("let him that glorieth glory in the Lord") is part of a composite utterance ascribed to the Holy Spirit, so Clement may be quoting the original of 2 Cor. x. 17 rather than St Paul's version.

(c) Pauline Epistles (uncertain).

The case for the Roman origin of the Captivity Epistles would be strengthened if we could find clear traces of them in Clement, showing perhaps that the drafts were still accessible in Rome, if copies of the originals had not come back there. Certainly xlv. 6 ("Have we not one God and one Christ and one Spirit...one calling in Christ?") looks like a reminiscence of Eph. iv. 4-6; but it may be preachers' common stock.

As for the Pastoral Epistles, "ready unto every good work" (ii. 7; cf. xxxiv. 4) is not sufficiently characteristic to necessitate a quotation from Tit. iii. 1. Similarly xxix. 1, "lifting up holy and undefiled hands", need not be a reminiscence of "lifting up holy hands" in 1 Tim. ii. 8.

(d) Other books.

Clement must have known 1 Peter, or at least the teaching which lies behind it. Compare vii. 4 "let us gaze at the blood of Christ and recognise how precious it is to his Father" with 1 Pet. i. 19 "precious blood...of Christ"; and lix. 2 ("he called us from darkness to light, from ignorance to knowledge...") with 1 Pet. ii. 9 ("him who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light") and 15 ("the ignorance of foolish men"). Clement in xlix. 5 quotes Prov. x. 12 ("love covers a multitude of sins") in a version different from that of the Hebrew or the LXX but agreeing with that found in 1 Pet. iv. 8. Three words, found in the New Testament only in 1 Peter, are used by Clement: "brotherhood" (ἀδελφότης, ii. 4, 1 Pet. ii. 17, v. 9), "example" (ὑπογραμμός, xvi. 17, 1 Pet. ii. 21, in each case connected with Isa. liii), and "well-doing" (ἀγαθοποιία, ii. 2, 1 Pet. iv. 19).

Possible affinities with 2 Peter are vii. 6, ix. 4 = 2 Pet. ii. 5; ix. 2 = 2 Pet. i. 17; xi. 1 = 2 Pet. ii. 6, 7; xxiii. 3 = 2 Pet. iii. 4.

In view of the probable second-century origin of 2 Peter, no stress can be laid on these parallels.

The Epistle to the Hebrews had influenced Clement more than any other book of the New Testament; it is not however used in a way that compels us to think that the Corinthians had a copy.

The following parallels to the Epistle of James may be pointed out: x. 1 = James ii. 23; xii. 1 = James ii. 25; xxx. 2 = James iv. 6; xlix. 5 = James v. 20.

The resemblance of ii. 1 to Acts xx. 35 is probably not significant, see the note on the passage. The conflation of two Old Testament passages in xviii. 1, as in Acts xiii. 22, is striking, but may derive from a common source and not from the Acts.

We conclude that Clement's Christianity was derived from (a) the Old Testament, interpreted in the light of the new revelation; (b) the authoritative teaching of St Paul, preserved in Romans and 1 Corinthians; (c) the living tradition of the Church, manifested especially in sayings of Jesus, the teaching of 1 Peter (which, whatever the circumstances of its literary origin, surely goes back to the Apostle), and the Epistle to the Hebrews. There is no trace of any interest in the Ministry of Christ or in his miracles; not even in the Passion story—Clement finds Isa. liii more impressive in this connection.

10. LITURGY

We cannot enter here into the early history of the Eucharist, on which so many important books have been written of late. The kind of questions which must be answered before coming to conclusions are: what is the date of the *Didache*, and does it give reliable evidence as to the practice of the Church at any given stage? How far back do the distinctively Eastern and Western types reach? Does the difference between them

correspond to a difference between Pauline and non-Pauline Churches? Are the variations in the New Testament accounts of the Institution evidence of local variations of usage? To what extent may we argue back from the “fossils” embedded in the later liturgies?

Our purpose is the more modest one of assessing the value of Clement’s evidence. There are two fixed points: St Paul’s teaching in 1 Corinthians x and xi, and Justin Martyr’s testimony. Clement’s position in between these would make him a really important witness if he were more explicit. As it is, he does not mention the Eucharist by name and our inferences from his language may be mistaken. In matters which concern normal Church life the argument from silence is precarious, as we realise when we consider 1 Corinthians—if there had been no disorders in the Eucharistic meal at Corinth our knowledge of St Paul’s sacramental theology would be small indeed. So the background of much of Clement’s Epistle may be Eucharistic although no mention is made of the Sacrament. (The *Didache* cannot be regarded as a “fixed point”. The present tendency is to set its date later than Justin.)

The centre of Church life at Corinth in St Paul’s time was the common meal. Israel after the flesh had communion with the altar, that is with God, by partaking of the sacrifices, whereby the many became one and the nation realised its unity. Christians, who are Israel after the spirit, similarly become one at the common meal, which is a participation, or communion, in the body of Christ (1 Cor. x. 16–18). But the assembly is for the worse, not for the better. Many do not discriminate between the Lord’s body and ordinary food, and have therefore been punished by sickness, and even death. Unity, symbolised by the one bread, is the primary meaning of the rite, and is destroyed when some, because they are hungry, begin before others arrive. It is clear that a genuine

meal, not a mere symbolical eating, is meant. The Apostle settles one point, that the excuse of hunger, to justify beginning before the rest, is not to be tolerated—those who are really hungry must satisfy their wants at home before coming. Other matters are held over until he visits Corinth in person (xi. 17–34).

Almost all the things we want to know remain obscure. We do not know whether a genuine meal followed or preceded the Eucharistic rite, or whether there was any attempt at differentiation; nor do we know whether the arrangements at Corinth were exceptional, or normal—apart from the abuses. It is natural, however, to suppose that St Paul when he “set things in order” separated the meal from the sacramental rite, so that after his visit the arrangements became more like those of the later Church.

Justin Martyr in his *First Apology* (150–155) tells us that after the preliminary prayers bread and wine (with water) are brought to the president; who gives thanks to the Father of the universe at considerable length. Each of those present partakes of the bread and wine, over which the thanksgiving has been pronounced, at the hands of the deacons, who also carry a portion to the absent (lxv). Afterwards the faithful converse about the mysteries; “and the wealthy among us succour the needy and we always keep together”. On Sundays all gather together to one place. After the reading of Scriptures the president instructs and the Eucharist follows as already described, the president giving thanks according to his ability. The well-to-do contribute as they think fit, and from what is collected the president succours those who are in need (lxvii).

Elsewhere he insists that Christians do not consume by fire what God has made for man’s sustenance, but use it for themselves and the needy, giving thanks “for our creation, for the means of well-being, for the various qualities of different

things, and for the changes of the seasons" (xiii). We Gentiles offer as sacrifices the bread and wine of the Eucharist in fulfilment of Malachi's prophecy (*Dialogue* xli; cf. Mal. i. 10-12). Offering and sacrifice therefore are used by Justin both of the gifts (probably in kind, but perhaps also in coin) for the needy and of those earmarked for the Eucharistic elements.

Interpreting this in the light of 1 Corinthians, we conclude that the Gentile Churches from the first looked upon the offerings brought to the common meal as the Christian equivalent of the Old Testament sacrifices, and that the "Eucharistic sacrifice", which was later brought into relation with the theology of the Cross, was a specialisation of the original usage. Jewish synagogues of the Dispersion had already taken an important step towards this view, as we see from Philo, *de Plantatione*, 30: thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία) is the greatest of the virtues; but we cannot give thanks to God with sacrifices, as is generally thought, but only with praises and hymns.

We must now consider the relevant passages of 1 Clement. Chapter xx (see p. 94) has been claimed as a piece of liturgical writing, containing phrases from the thanksgiving for creation, which recur in the "Clementine Liturgy" of the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions. Its origins are found in the Greek Old Testament and in Gentile philosophy. The style is solemn and rhetorical, markedly different from that of xxi, which is a practical exhortation based on the foregoing passage, deriving from it lessons of peace, unity, and subordination. The concluding mention of Christ is clearly an addition to teaching which contains nothing specifically Christian; neither the Logos nor the Holy Spirit is mentioned. Clement may be using material from the Synagogue services, or making his own combination of Jewish and Greek teaching. The phrases in the Clementine Liturgy are perhaps best explained as being derived from our Epistle.

In xxxiii. 2–6 we have a kind of prose-hymn parallel to xx, to which the above remarks apply.

The liturgical colouring of xxxiv. 2–7 is unmistakable. The angels are present at the Eucharist, which is regarded as a veritable Coming of the Lord. Dan. vii. 10, the Coming of the Son of Man with myriads of angels, is combined with the Son of Man with myriads of angels, is combined with Isa. vi. 3, the *Sanctus*, or worship of the heavenly host¹—as in the later liturgies.² Clement identifies himself with the Corinthians assembled for worship (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναχθέντες, technical terms, cf. *synaxis*, the assembly for worship), to whom his Epistle will be read. He refers to the earnest cry (ἐκτενῶς), a characteristic word of the Greek liturgies;³ and adds “as with one mouth”, which gains special point when we remember that the people always joined in the *Sanctus*.

Jesus Christ in xxxvi. 1 is “our salvation, the high priest of our offerings, the defender and helper of our infirmity”. The idea is derived from the Epistle to the Hebrews, as the context shows; the phrases not found there were perhaps already in liturgical use. The “offerings” (προσφορῶν) are the prayers of the worshipping congregation. The same word is used in xl. 2, 4 of the Old Testament sacrificial offerings, the rules governing which are interpreted as still applying to Christians. To the early Church, which used the same technical term for prayers and for the Eucharistic gifts, the two things must have seemed closely connected.⁴

A good deal of evidence is supplied by xl–xli, if we interpret the Old Testament regulations there summarised as throwing light on affairs at Corinth, as is probably justifiable. Order in

¹ See the writer’s essay “The Clouds of Heaven” in *Divine Humanity* for the view that the Church from the first interpreted these texts of a lifting up of the congregation into heaven, anticipating the final catching up of the faithful to meet the Lord in the air.

² E.g. the Apostolic Constitutions (Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. 18).

³ Brightman, pp. 4, 6, 7, 12.

⁴ Cf. Ps. li. 16, 17.

religious services is inculcated. Sacrifices must be offered at fixed times and hours by the appointed persons. The oblations of those who offer according to the prescribed rules are acceptable. Clergy and laity alike have their positions settled by ordinances. So far xl. That the exposition in xl and xli. 2 is dictated by the needs of Corinth is clear from xli. 1, addressed directly to the Corinthians. Only in one place (continues Clement) are the Bible sacrifices offered, and there only at one spot, and after inspection of the oblations by the high-priest and his ministers.

We get the impression that Clement is regulating the Eucharistic offerings as St Paul had done in 1 Cor. x, xi, using veiled language to teach the lesson of unity symbolised and safeguarded by the Eucharist, which Ignatius teaches explicitly. Oblations are to be made at regular and fixed hours and to be accepted by the appointed ministers. The distinction between clergy and laity must be observed. The laity's oblations, however generous, are not acceptable in God's sight if offered irregularly. No priestly arrogance prompts this ruling but the paramount importance of unity. There is one centre only at Corinth where God's people may offer acceptably (see p. 26). St Paul's words in 1 Cor. xi. 30 may well have suggested the mention of death in xli. 3.

Confession of sins is associated with the Christian offering in lii, being based, like nearly everything else in Clement, on the Old Testament.

If in xx and xxxiii the liturgical origin of the phrasing is doubtful, all scholars are agreed that in lix–lxi we have the actual wording of the Roman liturgy. Clement has exhorted the Corinthians as by a sermon. If they will not listen, he will nevertheless make earnest (ἐκτενῆ) prayer that...and then he breaks into a formal supplication which is a mosaic of phrases richly attested in the later liturgies. In the text preserved to us it begins with an infinitive, to govern which

“grant to us” or similar words must be supplied. Not that he is copying from a written document, but, like the president in Justin, Clement has been accustomed to offer prayer “according to his ability” and, when he writes, his thoughts naturally express themselves in the accustomed manner.

There is little doubt, then, that the development of the Eucharist at Rome has been in the direction of the stage described by Justin. Probably Clement is urging Corinth to rectify abuses which are already the mark of a backward Church, by falling into line with Roman usage. Clement’s Eucharistic theology is that which he has inherited from SS. Peter and Paul, as modified by the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which however he has only imperfectly assimilated.

The Jewish sources of Clement’s prayers may be conveniently studied in W. O. E. Oesterley’s *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy* (pp. 114–115, 127–129, 136–140). The two main sources are the Eighteen Benedictions (*Shemoneh ‘Ezreh*) and the *Geullah*, both of which were part of the Temple Liturgy. See also Lightfoot, i. 384–385. The thanksgiving for creation, etc. which Clement must have been accustomed to pronounce is suitably summarised in Justin’s words (*Apology*, xiii, quoted above); it contains nothing specifically Christian and must go back to Jewish Synagogue prayers.

II. CONCLUSIONS

A superficial reading of the Epistle leaves an impression of a secondhand and not very interesting document. Deeper study leads the reader to very different conclusions. Clement is indispensable, both as rounding off our picture of New Testament times and as beginning our study of Church History as usually understood. He exemplifies the rich variety of the personalities and movements of the early Church. We are accustomed to think of the distinctive contributions made

by St Paul, St James, the Author to the Hebrews, the Fourth Evangelist, etc. We sometimes forget that the same is true of the Apostolic Fathers. Barnabas is absorbed in the controversy with Judaism; Ignatius is a mystic with heart red-hot and nerves strained to the breaking point; Hermas shows us what an ordinary man with little intelligence living in the second century made of Christianity.

But Clement is a first-century figure and a great Churchman. From him alone do we learn what the intelligent readers of the great Epistles made of them. We can no longer use Lightfoot's language, in which he speaks of Clement's combining and reconciling four out of the five great types of New Testament teaching (Peter and Paul, James, and the Hebrews). Clement is as distinctive a type as any of these. He reproduces the tradition which he has received, in so far as he can assimilate it, and proceeds to justify it by the Old Testament. Compared with Ignatius or Barnabas he is in the main stream of Christianity, and in him the grandeur of the Roman Church is already manifest. Immeasurable enrichment of Christian life and theology was to follow from a knowledge of the Gospels, but the new life was already flowing in channels which only needed to be deepened.

The silences of Clement are remarkable. Baptism is not mentioned; the central position accorded to the Eucharist, which is implied but not mentioned by name, shows that no importance is to be attached to the omission. But where are demons, ecstasy, Christian prophecy, Gnosticism, spiritual healing, and other factors in primitive Church life so much emphasised in this or that modern presentation of the facts? Once more we are conscious of being in the main stream of tradition. The practical cessation of the eschatological hope, in the midst of persecution, is another reminder that we have here the beginnings of the cool, level-headed Church of Rome, never in a hurry because it can afford to wait.

But perhaps most impressive of all is the moralism of the Epistle. It depicts "a moral movement, firmly set in a clear consciousness of knowing the living God, and living a redeemed life in Christ. Compared with other religions, it was the religion of inwardness and the Spirit, and at the same time a brotherhood, as comprehensive as human life and as deep as human need.... If we compare what the Roman Church has here written with what we know of town and community life, the societies, schools, etc. of that time, the tremendous difference strikes us at once, and we remember the words of the Apostle Paul to the Philippians: ye are 'children of God without blemish in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, among whom ye are seen as lights of the world'."¹

12. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Bishop Lightfoot's monumental edition remains the indispensable storehouse from which all successors must draw. In the present edition his text is translated, but attention is called to the readings of MSS. published since his day; Lightfoot's emendations have not always commended themselves to later workers. Lake's text in the Loeb Library differs slightly from Lightfoot's. The excellence of the bishop's edition seems to have discouraged British scholars from working on the Epistle; probably they have felt "it is all in Lightfoot".

¹ Von Harnack, pp. 102-103.

Professor Marsh's article is perhaps the best short summary of the problems in English. Knopf's edition is unsurpassed on the lexicographical side, but gives little attention to the problems which interest English readers. Von Harnack's book is a joy. This surely is the ideal way of writing a book. He published an edition of Clement in 1875 and fifty-four years later, his mind enriched by the intensive studies of a long life, returned to his first love. He gives a translation, with a commentary of masterly brevity, and devotes most of his space to formulating the questions and difficulties which he must largely leave unsolved.

The present edition is intended primarily for students of the New Testament who want to understand the background of the later canonical books. The translation aims at keeping closely to the style of the Revised Version.

The Greek text may be obtained from the S.P.C.K. for one shilling.

TRANSLATION

SYMBOLS FOR THE MSS.

(See p. 8)

A = Codex Alexandrinus.

C = Codex Constantinopolitanus.

L = Latin Version.

S = Syriac Version.

K = Coptic Version.

TO THE CORINTHIANS

The Church of God which sojourns at Rome to the Church of God which sojourns at Corinth, to those who are called, and sanctified by the will of God through Our Lord Jesus Christ. Grace and peace be multiplied to you from Almighty God through Jesus Christ.

I. 1. Owing to the sudden and repeated misfortunes and calamities which have befallen us, brethren, we are somewhat late, we think, in concerning ourselves with the matters disputed among you, beloved, and with the sedition, so alien and out of place in God's elect, so abominable and impious, which a few impetuous and obstinate persons have enkindled to such a pitch of frenzy that your revered and famous name, deservedly loved of all men, has been greatly reviled. 2. For who that stayed with you did not make proof of your virtuous and firm faith? did not marvel at your discreet and gentle piety in Christ? did not proclaim the magnificent character of your hospitality? did not praise your perfect and secure knowledge? 3. For you were wont to do all things without respect of persons and to walk in God's ordinances, being in subjection to your rulers and paying befitting honour to the elder men among you. The young, too, you enjoined to be modest and reverent-minded. The women you bade fulfil all their duties with blameless, reverent, and pure conscience, loving their husbands as is fitting. Also you taught them to keep the rule of subjection and to manage the affairs of their households in seemly fashion, with all discretion.

II. 1. You were all humble-minded, in no respect vaunting; you preferred being in subjection to subjecting others; you gave more gladly than you received, being content with God's rations. And, paying heed to his words, you carefully

stored them in your hearts, and his sufferings were before your eyes. 2. Thus a deep and rich peace had been given to all and an insatiable longing for well-doing, and a full outpouring of the Holy Spirit came upon all. 3. And, full of holy counsel, with good zeal and devout confidence you stretched out your hands to Almighty God, imploring him to show mercy, if in any way you had sinned unwillingly. 4. Day and night you would strive on behalf of the whole brotherhood, that with fear and (a good) conscience the number of his elect might be saved. 5. You were sincere and innocent, and bore no grudge against one another. 6. Every sedition and every schism were abominable to you. You grieved over the trespasses of your neighbours and esteemed their shortcomings your own. 7. You never repented of any well-doing, "being ready unto every good work". 8. Adorned with virtuous and honourable conduct you accomplished all things in the fear of him. The commandments and ordinances of the Lord "were written on the tablets of your heart".

III. 1. Fame and enlargement were given you in full measure, and the saying was fulfilled: "My beloved ate and drank and was enlarged and waxed fat and kicked." 2. Thence came jealousy and envy, strife and sedition, persecution and disorder, war and captivity. 3. So "the dishonoured" rose up "against the honoured", those of no repute against those of repute, the foolish against the prudent, "the young against the elders". 4. Therefore is righteousness and peace far removed, because each one deserts the fear of God and the eye of faith in him has become dim, neither does he walk in the ordinances of his commandments, nor behave as befits a Christian; but each walks according to the lusts of his evil heart, conceiving unjust and impious jealousy, through which also "death came into the world".

IV. 1. For thus it is written: "And in process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruits of the earth a sacrifice unto God, and Abel he also brought of the firstlings of the sheep and of the fat pieces thereof. 2. And God had respect unto Abel and to his gifts: but unto Cain and to his sacrifices he had not respect. 3. And Cain was greatly grieved and his countenance fell. 4. And God said to Cain, Why art thou grieved? and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou hast offered rightly but not divided rightly, hast thou not sinned? 5. Be still. Unto thee shall he return, and thou shalt rule over him. 6. And Cain said to Abel his brother, Let us go into the plain. And it came to pass that, when they were in the plain, Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him." 7. You see, brethren, jealousy and envy wrought fratricide. 8. Through jealousy our father Jacob fled from the face of Esau his brother. 9. Jealousy caused Joseph to be persecuted unto death and to come into slavery. 10. Jealousy compelled Moses to flee from the face of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, when he was asked by his fellow-tribesmen, "Who made thee a judge or a decider over us? Wouldest thou kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian yesterday?" 11. Through jealousy Aaron and Miriam lodged outside the camp. 12. Jealousy brought Dathan and Abiram alive into Hades, because they raised a sedition against Moses the servant of God. 13. Through jealousy David not only suffered envy at the hands of foreigners but was persecuted even by Saul, King of Israel.

V. 1. But, to finish with these ancient examples, let us come to the athletes of the recent past; let us take the noble examples of our own generation. 2. Through jealousy and envy the greatest and most righteous pillars (of the Church) were persecuted, and contended unto death. 3. Let us set before our eyes the good Apostles: 4. Peter, who through

unrighteous jealousy endured not one or two but many labours, and so having borne witness proceeded to his due place of glory. 5. Through jealousy and strife Paul displayed the prize of endurance; 6. seven times in bonds, driven into exile, stoned, appearing as a herald in both the East and the West he won noble fame for his faith; 7. he taught righteousness to the whole world, and after reaching the limits of the West bore witness before the rulers. Then he passed from the world and went to the holy place, having shown himself the greatest pattern of endurance.

VI. 1. Associated with these men of holy life is a great multitude of the elect, who because of jealousy have suffered many indignities and tortures and have set a very noble example in our midst. 2. Because of jealousy women were persecuted, who as Danaids and Dircae suffered terrible and impious indignities and thereby safely completed the race of faith and, though weak in body, received a noble reward of honour. 3. Jealousy has alienated wives from husbands and changed what was said by our father Adam: "This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh." 4. Jealousy and strife have destroyed great cities and uprooted great nations.

VII. 1. These things, beloved, we write not only to admonish you but also to remind ourselves. For we are in the same arena and the same contest is before us. 2. Wherefore let us abandon empty and vain thoughts, and live according to the famous and revered rule handed down to us, 3. and take heed to what is good and delightful and acceptable before our Creator. 4. Let us gaze at the blood of Christ and recognise how precious it is to his Father, because, poured out for our salvation, it brought the grace of repentance to all the world. 5. Let us go through all the generations and learn that from generation to generation the Lord has given a place

of repentance to those who wish to turn to him. 6. Noah preached repentance, and those who obeyed were saved. 7. Jonah foretold destruction to the men of Nineveh and they, repenting of their sins, made supplication and were reconciled to God and received salvation, though they did not belong to his people.

VIII. 1. The ministers of God's grace have spoken through the Holy Spirit concerning repentance. 2. And the Lord of all things himself said this about repentance, with an oath: "As I live, saith the Lord, I desire not the death of the sinner but his repentance." Adding this kindly judgment: 3. "Repent, O house of Israel, of your lawlessness. Say to the sons of my people: If your sins reach from the earth to the heaven, and if they are redder than scarlet and blacker than sackcloth, and ye return to me with all your heart and say, Father, I will hearken to you as a holy people." 4. And in another place he speaks thus: "Wash you, make you clean; put away the wicked doings from your souls before mine eyes. Cease from your evil doings, learn to do well, seek judgment, rescue the oppressed, judge the fatherless and plead for the widow. And then come and let us reason together, saith the Lord. Though your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as snow; though they be as crimson, I will make them white as wool. And if ye be willing and hearken to me, ye shall eat the good things of the land; but if ye be not willing neither hearken to me, a sword shall devour you. For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken this." 5. Wishing all his beloved therefore to partake of repentance, he hath established it by his almighty will.

IX. 1. Wherefore let us obey his excellent and glorious will, and as suppliants of his mercy and goodness let us fall down and turn to his compassions, forsaking vain endeavours and strife and jealousy that leads to death. 2. Let us look

stedfastly at those who have rendered perfect service to his excellent glory. 3. Let us take Enoch, who was found righteous in obedience and was translated, and his death was not discovered. 4. Noah, having been found faithful in his service, proclaimed regeneration to the world, and through him the Lord saved the animals which entered the ark in concord.

X. 1. Abraham, called "the Friend (of God)", was found faithful in that he became obedient to the words of God. 2. He through obedience went out from his land and his kindred and his father's house, in order that leaving a little land and a weak kindred and a small household he might inherit the promises of God. For he saith to him: 3. "Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred and from thy father's house, unto the land which I will show thee, and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great, and thou shalt be blessed. And I will bless them that bless thee, and I will curse them that curse thee, and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed." 4. And again, when he parted from Lot, God said to him: "Lift up thine eyes, look from the place where thou now art, northward and southward and eastward and westward: for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever. 5. And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth: if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be numbered." 6. And again it says: "God brought forth Abraham and said to him, Look up toward heaven and number the stars, if thou canst number them. So shall thy seed be. And Abraham believed in God and it was counted to him for righteousness." 7. Because of his faith and hospitality a son was given him in old age, and in obedience he brought him a sacrifice to God on one of the mountains which he showed him.

XI. 1. Lot for his hospitality and piety was saved from Sodom, when all the neighbourhood was judged by fire and brimstone. The Lord made plain thereby that he deserts not those that hope in him, but those who are renegades he gives over to punishment and torture. 2. For when his wife went out with him, being of different disposition and not in concord with him, she was appointed to be a sign of this, and so became a pillar of salt unto this day, that it might be known to all that the double-minded and doubters of God's power are condemned and made a warning sign to all generations.

XII. 1. For her faith and hospitality Rahab the harlot was saved. 2. For, when spies had been sent by Joshua the son of Nun to Jericho, the king of the land knew that they had come to spy out their country and sent men to arrest them, that they might be arrested and put to death. 3. However, hospitable Rahab took them in and hid them in the upper room under the stalks of flax. 4. And when the king's messengers arrived and said: "Those who are spying out our land came in to thee; bring them out, for so the king commands", she answered: "The men whom ye seek came unto me but they departed at once and are proceeding on their way"—pointing them in the opposite direction. 5. And she said to the men: "I surely know that the Lord our God is giving you this land, for the fear and the terror of you have fallen upon its inhabitants. When therefore it comes to pass that ye take it, save me and my father's house." 6. And they said to her: "It shall be as thou hast said to us. When therefore thou knowest that we are here, thou shalt gather all thy folk under thy roof and they shall be preserved; for as many as shall be found outside the house shall perish." 7. And they also gave her a sign, that she should hang from her house a scarlet thread; thus they showed that through the blood of the Lord there shall be redemption for all who

believe and hope in God. 8. You see, beloved, that there was not only faith but also prophecy in this woman.

XIII. 1. Let us therefore be humble-minded, brethren, laying aside all vaunting and conceit and folly and angry passions, and let us do what the Scripture says. For the Holy Spirit says: "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, nor the rich man in his riches, but let him that glorieth glory in the Lord, to seek him out and to do judgment and righteousness." Especially remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, which he spake when he taught gentleness and long-suffering. 2. Thus he said: "Be merciful, that ye may obtain mercy; forgive, that it may be forgiven you. As ye do, so shall it be done to you; as ye give, so shall it be given to you; as ye judge, so shall ye be judged; as ye are kind, so shall ye be kindly treated. With what measure ye mete, with that it shall be measured to you." 3. With this commandment and these precepts let us stablish ourselves that we may walk obedient to his holy words, in humble-mindedness. For the holy word says: 4. "Upon whom shall I look, save upon him that is meek and quiet and trembles at my oracles?"

XIV. 1. It is just and holy, then, brethren, that we should be obedient to God rather than follow those who in vaunting and disorder are leaders in abominable jealousy. 2. For we shall incur no ordinary harm but rather great danger, if we wantonly entrust ourselves to the wills of men who aim at strife and seditions, to alienate us from what is good. 3. Let us be kindly to them according to the compassion and sweetness of him who created us. 4. For it is written: "The kindly shall be inhabitants of the land, and the innocent shall be left in it: but the transgressors shall be destroyed from off it." 5. And again it says: "I saw the impious exalted and lifted up as the cedars of Lebanon, and I passed by and

behold he was not, and I sought his place and found it not. Keep innocence and regard uprightness; for there is a remnant for the peaceable man."

XV. 1. Let us then cleave to those who keep peace with piety and not to those who with hypocrisy desire peace. 2. For it says somewhere: "This people honoureth me with the lips, but their heart is far from me." 3. And again: "With their mouth they bless but with their heart they curse." 4. And again it says: "They loved him with their mouth and lied to him with their tongue; but their heart was not straight with him, neither did they abide faithfully in his covenant. 5. Therefore let the deceitful lips which speak lawlessness against the righteous become dumb." And again: "May the Lord destroy all deceitful lips, and the boastful tongue, that say: Let us magnify our tongue. Our lips are our own; who is lord over us? 6. Because of the affliction of the poor and the groaning of the oppressed I will now arise, saith the Lord; I will put him in safety. I will deal openly with him."

XVI. 1. For Christ belongs to those who are humble-minded, not to those who exalt themselves over his flock. 2. The sceptre of the majesty of God, Our Lord Jesus Christ, came not with the pomp of vaunting or of arrogance, though he might have done, but humble-minded, as the Holy Spirit spake concerning him. For he says: 3. "Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed? We proclaimed before him—he is as a child, as a root in a thirsty ground. He has no form, nor glory; and we saw him, and he had no form, nor beauty, but his form was without honour, deficient in comparison with the form of men; a man with stripes and toil and knowing how to bear weakness, for his face was turned away, he was

dishonoured and esteemed not. 4. This is he that bears our sins and endures pain for us, and we regarded him as subject to pain and stripes and affliction. 5. But he was wounded for our sins and has been made to suffer for our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace was upon him; with his bruises we were healed. 6. All we like sheep went astray, each man went astray in his own way. 7. And the Lord delivered him up for our sins, and he openeth not his mouth by reason of affliction. As a sheep he was led to slaughter, and as a lamb dumb before its shearer so he openeth not his mouth. In humiliation his judgment was taken away. 8. Who shall declare his generation? For his life is taken away from the earth. 9. For the iniquities of my people has he come to death. 10. And I will give the wicked for his burial, and the rich for his death; for he did no iniquity, neither was guile found in his mouth. And the Lord wills to purify him from his stripes. 11. If ye give (an offering) for sin, your soul shall see a seed with long life. 12. And the Lord wills to take from the toil of his soul, to show him light and form him with understanding, to justify a righteous man who serveth many well in bondage. And their sins he will bear himself. 13. Therefore shall he inherit many and share the spoils of the strong; because his soul was delivered unto death, and he was reckoned among the transgressors. 14. And he bore the sins of many, and for their sins he was delivered up." 15. And again he himself says: "But I am a worm, and no man, a reproach of men, and despised of the people. 16. All they that see me mocked me, they spoke with their lips, they shook the head (saying): He hoped in the Lord, let him deliver him, let him save him, for he delighteth in him." 17. You see, beloved, what is the example given to us. For if the Lord was thus humble-minded, what ought we to do who through him have come under the yoke of his grace?

XVII. 1. Let us become imitators of those also who went “in goatskins and sheepskins”, preaching the coming of Christ. We mean Elijah and Elisha, and Ezekiel also, the prophets; and besides them those of good report. 2. Abraham obtained an exceeding good report and was called the Friend of God; and looking stedfastly at the glory of God he says in humble-mindedness: “But I am dust and ashes.” 3. Further, concerning Job also it is thus written: “And Job was righteous and blameless, true, a worshipper of God, keeping himself from all evil.” 4. But he accuses himself, saying: “No one is pure from defilement, not even if his life be for a single day.” 5. Moses was called “faithful in all his household”, and through his ministering God judged Egypt with their plagues and torments. But even he when he was given great glory did not utter proud words but, when an oracle was given him at the Bush, said: “Who am I, that thou sendest me? I am feeble of speech and slow of tongue.” 6. And again he says, “I am smoke from a pot.”

XVIII. 1. But what shall we say of David the man of good report? To whom God said: “I have found a man after my heart, David the son of Jesse, with eternal mercy I have anointed him.” 2. But he too says to God: “Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy great mercy, and according to the multitude of thy compassions blot out my transgression. 3. Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. For I acknowledge mine iniquity, and my sin is ever before me. 4. Against thee only did I sin, and do evil in thy sight, that thou mightest be justified in thy words and triumph when thou art judged. 5. For, behold, I was conceived in iniquities, and in sins did my mother bear me. 6. For, behold, thou didst love truth; the secret and hidden things of thy wisdom didst thou show to me. 7. Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed: thou

shalt wash me, and I shall be made whiter than snow. 8. Thou shalt make me hear joy and gladness: the humbled bones shall rejoice. 9. Turn thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities. 10. Create a clean heart in me, O God, and renew a right spirit within me. 11. Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me. 12. Give me back the gladness of thy salvation, and strengthen me with thy ruling Spirit. 13. I will teach the lawless thy ways, and the ungodly shall be converted unto thee. 14. Deliver me from bloodguiltiness, O God, the God of my salvation. 15. My tongue shall rejoice in thy righteousness. O Lord, thou shalt open my mouth, and my lips shall declare thy praise. 16. For if thou hadst desired sacrifice, I should have given it; in burnt-offerings thou wilt take no pleasure. 17. Sacrifice to God is a broken spirit: a broken and humbled heart God will not despise."

XIX. 1. The humility and submissiveness of all these holy men, who thus obtained a good report, have by their obedience made better not only us but also the generations before us, the men I mean who received his oracles in fear and truth. 2. Since, then, we participate in the benefit of their many great and glorious deeds, let us run toward the mark of peace which from the outset has been given to us, and let us look stedfastly at the Father and Creator of the whole universe, and let us hold fast to his excellent and pre-eminent gifts of peace and his beneficent actions. 3. Let us see him with our mind and look with the eyes of the soul at his long-suffering will. Let us consider how imperturbable he is towards his whole creation.

XX. 1. The heavens move at his direction and are subject to him in peace. 2. Day and night accomplish the course prescribed by him, in no way hindering each other. 3. Sun and moon and the choruses of stars roll along their appointed

courses according to his decree in concord, without digression therefrom. 4. The earth according to his will brings forth at the proper seasons and produces ample food for men and beasts and all its denizens, without dissension and changing none of his decrees. 5. The unplumbed and unutterable judgments of the abysses and the underworld are held firm by the same ordinances. 6. The basin of the boundless sea remains as he created it in the place of his gathering and passes not the bars that surround it, but as he commanded it so it does. 7. For he said: "Hitherto shalt thou come, and thy waves shall be broken within thee." 8. The ocean which has no bounds for men, and the worlds beyond it, are guided by the same commands of the Lord. 9. Spring, summer, autumn and winter, succeed one another in peace. 10. The stations of the winds in due season fulfil their service without hindrance. Perennial springs, created for enjoyment and health, present their life-giving breasts unfailingly to men. The smallest of creatures meet together in concord and peace. 11. All these the great Creator and Lord of all commanded to be in peace and concord; he benefits all, and especially us, who flee to his compassions through Our Lord Jesus Christ. 12. To whom be glory and majesty for ever. Amen.

XXI. 1. Beware, brethren, lest his many benefits bring condemnation on us all, if we do not live worthily of him and perform what is good and wellpleasing before him in concord. 2. For Scripture says somewhere: "The Spirit of the Lord is a lamp, trying the inmost parts of the body." 3. Let us see how near he is, and that no one of our thoughts or of the opinions which we form escapes his notice. 4. It is right therefore that we should not be deserters from his will. 5. Let us offend foolish and senseless men, who exalt themselves and boast in the pride of their speech, rather than God. 6. Let us fear Our Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was given

for us. Let us reverence them that have the rule over us, let us honour our elders, let us train our young in the fear of God, let us direct our women in the good way. 7. Let them show a lovable purity of character, let them display the innocent will of meekness, let them make plain the gentleness of their tongue by silence. Let them show their love, not with partisanship but in holy equality, to all who fear God. 8. Let our children partake of the training that is in Christ. Let them learn how humility avails with God, what pure love can do with him, how the fear of him is good and great and saves those who live therein in holiness and a pure mind. 9. For he searches the thoughts and desires; his breath is in us, and when he lists he will take it away.

XXII. 1. The faith which is in Christ confirms all these things; for he himself through the Holy Spirit thus invites us: "Come, ye children, hearken unto me, I will teach you the fear of the Lord. 2. Who is he that desireth life, loving to see good days? 3. Cease thy tongue from evil, and thy lips that they speak no guile. 4. Depart from evil, and do good. 5. Seek peace and pursue it. 6. The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open to their prayer; but the face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to root out their memorial from the earth. 7. The righteous cried, and the Lord heard him, and delivered him from all his afflictions. Many are the afflictions of the righteous and the Lord will deliver him from them all." 8. Then: "Many are the scourges of the sinner, but mercy shall encompass those that set their hope on the Lord."

XXIII. 1. The all-merciful and beneficent Father is compassionate towards them that fear him, and in mild and kindly fashion bestows his graces upon those who come to him with singleness of mind. 2. Wherefore let us not be double-minded, and let not our soul form false ideas of his

surpassing and glorious gifts. 3. Let that scripture be far from us, where it says: "Unhappy are the double-minded, who doubt in their soul, and say, These things have we heard also in the days of our fathers, and behold we have grown old, and none of them has happened to us. 4. O senseless ones, compare yourselves with a tree. Take a vine. First it drops its leaves, then a shoot comes, then a leaf, then a flower, after that the unripe fruit, then the actual ripe grapes." You see that in a little time the fruit of the tree reaches maturity. 5. Of a truth his will shall be accomplished swiftly and suddenly, as also the Scripture testifies: "He shall come quickly and not tarry, and the Lord shall suddenly come to his temple, even the Holy One whom ye expect."

XXIV. 1. Let us consider, beloved, how that the Lord is continually proving to us the resurrection that is to be, the firstfruits of which he constituted by raising the Lord Jesus Christ from the dead. 2. Let us look, beloved, at the resurrection which takes place regularly. 3. Day and night show us a resurrection: the night goes to rest, the day arises; the day departs, night comes on. 4. Let us take the crops. How and in what manner does the sowing take place? 5. "The sower went forth" and cast each of the seeds into the ground. These fall on the ground dry and bare, and decay. Then the greatness of the Lord's providence raises them up from the decay, and from the one many grow up and bear fruit.

XXV. 1. Let us look at the strange sign which takes place in the East, that is in the neighbourhood of Arabia. 2. There is a bird called phoenix. It is the only one of its species and lives 500 years. And when the time of departure comes, for it to die, it makes for itself a bier of incense and myrrh and other spices, which when the time is fulfilled it enters, and dies. 3. As its flesh decays a worm is produced,

which is nourished by the juices of the dead creature and grows wings. Then, grown strong, it takes up the bier on which lie the bones of its predecessor and flies with them from Arabia to Egypt, to the city called Heliopolis. 4. And by day, in the sight of all, it flies to the altar of the sun and lays them there and then flies back again. 5. The priests then consult the records of the past and find that it has come after an interval of 500 years.

XXVI. 1. Do we then think it great and marvellous if the Creator of all shall cause a resurrection of those who served him in holy fashion in the confidence of a good faith, when even by a bird he shows us the greatness of his promise? 2. For it says somewhere: "And thou shalt raise me up and I will confess to thee." And: "I laid me down and slept. I rose up, for thou art with me." 3. And again Job says: "And thou shalt raise up this flesh of mine which hath borne all these things."

XXVII. 1. In this hope, then, let our souls be bound to him who is faithful in his promises and righteous in his judgments. 2. He that commanded not to lie, far more will he himself not lie. For nothing is impossible with God, except lying. 3. Let faith in him be rekindled in us and let us consider that all things are near to him. 4. By a word of his majesty he founded all things and by a word he can overthrow them. 5. "Who shall say to him, What hast thou done? and who shall withstand the strength of his might?" When he wishes and as he wishes he will do all things and nothing shall fail of the things decreed by him. 6. All things are before him and nothing is hid from his plan. 7. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night to night showeth knowledge. There are neither words nor speeches: their voices are not heard."

XXVIII. 1. Since all things are seen and heard, let us fear him and abandon abominable lustings after wicked deeds, in order that we may be sheltered by his mercy from the judgments to come. 2. For where can any of us flee from his powerful hand? What world will receive one who deserts from him? For the writing says in one place: 3. "Where shall I go, and where shall I be hid from thy face? If I go up into heaven, thou art there. If I go into the ends of the earth, there is thy right hand; if I spread my couch in the abyss, there is thy spirit." 4. Whither then should one go or where should one flee from him who holds all things in his grasp?

XXIX. 1. Let us then draw near to him with holiness of soul, lifting up holy and undefiled hands to him, loving our gentle and merciful Father who made us his chosen portion. 2. For thus it is written: "When the Most High divided the nations, when he scattered the sons of Adam, he set the boundaries of the nations, according to the number of the angels of God. The Lord's portion was his people Jacob, Israel the lot of his inheritance." 3. And in another place it says: "Behold, the Lord taketh to himself a nation out of the midst of the nations, as a man taketh the firstfruits of his threshing-floor, and the holy of holies shall come out from that nation."

XXX. 1. Seeing then that we are the Holy One's portion, let us do the works that belong to holiness, fleeing from backbitings, abominable and unholy embraces, drunken bouts and seditious plots and detestable lusts, foul adultery, and detestable pride. 2. "For God" it says "resisteth the proud but giveth grace to the humble." 3. Let us cleave to those to whom grace has been given from God. Let us put on concord, being humble-minded, self-controlled, keeping ourselves far from all gossip and backbiting, being

justified by works and not by words. 4. For it says: "He who says many things shall hear much in return. Or shall the chatterer think himself righteous?" 5. Blessed is the man born of woman who is short-lived. Be not profuse in words." 6. Let our praise be in God and not from ourselves, for God hates self-praisers. 7. Let the testimony to our good works be given by others, as it was given to our righteous fathers. 8. Boastfulness and obstinacy and presumption belong to those who are cursed by God. Gentleness and humility and meekness are with them who are blessed by God.

XXXI. 1. Let us cleave then to his blessing and see what are the ways of blessing. Let us reconsider what has happened from the beginning. 2. Why was our father Abraham blessed? Was it not because he wrought righteousness and truth in faith? 3. Isaac with good confidence, knowing what would befall, gladly let himself be offered as a sacrifice. 4. Jacob with humility departed from his land because of his brother and went to Laban and served, and the sceptre of the twelve tribes of Israel was given him.

XXXII. 1. If any one will without prejudice examine each example separately, he will recognise the greatness of the gifts given by God. 2. For from him (Jacob) spring all the priests and levites that minister at the altar of God. From him is the Lord Jesus according to the flesh. From him are the kings and governors and rulers, in the line of Judah. And the other sceptres are in no small honour, for God promised: "Thy seed shall be as the stars of heaven." 3. So then all were honoured and glorified, not through themselves or their works or the righteous acts which they wrought, but through his will. 4. And we also, who have been called through his will in Christ Jesus, are justified not through ourselves or through our own wisdom or understanding or piety or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart,

but through faith, through which Almighty God has justified all from the beginning. To him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

XXXIII. 1. What shall we do, then, brethren? Shall we idly desist from well-doing and desert love? May the Lord never allow this to happen in our case, but let us hasten to accomplish every good work with earnestness and readiness. 2. For the Creator and Lord of all himself rejoices over his works. 3. For by his supreme power he established the heavens and by his incomprehensible wisdom he ordered them. The earth he separated from the encompassing water and he set it on the secure foundation of his will; and the creatures that roam therein he called into existence by his own command. The sea and the creatures therein he created first and shut in by his own power. 4. Last of all, with his holy and spotless hands he made man, the most excellent and greatest in intelligence, an impress of his own image. 5. For thus God says: "Let us make man after our image and after our likeness. And God created man, male and female created he them." 6. Having completed all these things, he praised and blessed them and said: "Increase and multiply." 7. We saw that all the righteous were adorned with good works; and the Lord himself, having adorned himself with good works, rejoiced. 8. Having then this pattern let us follow his will without delay, with all our strength let us work the work of righteousness.

XXXIV. 1. The good workman receives bread for his work with confidence, the slothful and careless one dares not look his employer in the face. 2. We must therefore be eager in well-doing; for all things are from him. 3. For he has warned us: "Behold the Lord cometh, and his reward is before him, to render to each according to his work." 4. He urges us, therefore, believing on him with all our heart, not

to be idle or careless “in every good work”. 5. Let our glorying and our confidence be in him. Let us be subject to his will. Let us consider the whole multitude of his angels, how they attend and do his will. 6. For the Scripture says: “Ten thousand times ten thousand attended him, and thousand thousands ministered to him, and they cried Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts, the whole creation is full of his glory.” 7. As for us, then, gathered together in concord in our conscience, as with one voice let us earnestly cry aloud to him that we may become partakers of his great and glorious promises. 8. For it says: “Eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and it hath not entered the heart of men, how many things God hath prepared for those that wait for him.”

XXXV. 1. How blessed and wonderful are the gifts of God, beloved! 2. Life in immortality, joyousness in righteousness, truth in boldness, faith in confidence, self-control in sanctification: all these things are within our understanding. 3. What things, then, are being prepared for those that wait? The all-holy Creator and Father of the ages himself knows their number and beauty. 4. Let us therefore strive to be found in the number of those who wait for him, that we may partake of the promised gifts. 5. How shall this be, beloved? If our mind by faith is firmly set towards God; if we seek out what is pleasing and acceptable to him; if we perform what befits his spotless will and follow the way of truth, casting from us all unrighteousness and wickedness, covetousness, strife, malignity and deceit, gossip and backbiting, hatred of God, arrogance and vaunting, vainglory and neglect of hospitality. 6. For those who do such things are hateful to God—“not only those who do them but also those who consent to them”. 7. For the Scripture says: “But to the sinner said God, Why dost thou declare my ordinances and take my covenant in thy mouth? 8. Thou

didst hate instruction and cast my words behind thee. If thou sawest a thief, thou wouldest run with him, and with harlots didst thou make thy portion. Thy mouth overflowed with evil and thy tongue wove deceit. Thou didst sit and speak against thy brother, and against thy mother's son didst thou set a stumbling-block. 9. This thou didst, and I was silent. Thou thoughtest, lawless one, that I shall be like thee. 10. I will rebuke thee and set thee before thy face. 11. Consider these things, ye that forget God, lest he seize you like a lion and there be none to deliver. 12. The sacrifice of praise shall glorify me, and there is the way by which I will show him the salvation of God."

XXXVI. 1. This is the way, beloved, in which we found our salvation, Jesus Christ, the high priest of our offerings, the protector and helper of our infirmity. 2. Through him let us gaze into the heights of heaven. Through him we see as in a mirror God's spotless and glorious countenance; through him the eyes of our heart were opened; through him our senseless and darkened mind rises up towards his marvellous light; through him the Lord desired us to taste the immortal knowledge; "who, being the effulgence of his majesty, is by so much greater than the angels, as he hath inherited a more excellent name". 3. For it is written thus: "Who maketh his angels winds, and his ministers a flame of fire". 4. But of his Son the Lord saith thus: "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for thy possession." 5. And again he saith to him: "Sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies a footstool of thy feet." Who then are the enemies? Those who are bad and oppose his will.

XXXVII. 1. Let us therefore, brethren, with all earnestness serve in his army, under his faultless orders. 2. Let us

consider those who render military service to our rulers, with what discipline, what readiness, what submission, they fulfil the commands. 3. Not all are prefects or tribunes or centurions or leaders of fifty or the like; but each in his own order fulfils the commands issued by the king and the rulers. 4. The great cannot exist without the small, nor the small without the great. All are linked with others, and therein benefit is derived. 5. Let us take our body. The head without the feet is nothing, nor are the feet anything without the head. The smallest parts of our body are necessary and useful to the whole body. But all agree together, and unite in one obedience, that the whole body may be preserved.

XXXVIII. 1. Let our whole body therefore be preserved in Christ Jesus, and let each be subject to his neighbour, as also he was placed by his spiritual gift. 2. Let not the strong neglect the weak, and let the weak reverence the strong. Let the rich supply the needs of the poor, and let the poor give thanks to God, that he hath given him one by whom what is lacking may be supplied. Let the wise show his wisdom not in words but in good works. Let the humble-minded not bear testimony to himself, but allow others to bear testimony to him. Let him that is pure in the flesh be so without vaunting, knowing it is Another that gives him his self-control. 3. Let us consider, brethren, of what material we were made, who and what manner of men we were when we came into the world; out of what tomb and darkness he that formed and created us brought us into this world, having already prepared his benefit for us before we were born. 4. Having all these things from him we ought to give thanks to him for all. To him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

XXXIX. 1. Foolish and unintelligent and silly and ignorant men mock at us and deride us, desiring to exalt themselves in their imaginations. 2. For what can a mortal

man do? On what is the strength of an earthborn being? 3. For it is written: "There was no form before mine eyes, but I heard a breathing and a voice. 4. What! shall a mortal man be pure before the Lord, if he believeth not in his servants and hath noted something perverse in his angels? 5. The heaven is not clean in his sight. Away with you, ye that dwell in houses of clay, among whom are we too, made of the same clay. He smote them like a moth, and betwixt morning and evening they cease to be; without being able to help themselves they perished. 6. He breathed on them, and they died, because they had no wisdom. 7. Call now; is there any that will answer thee? or wilt thou see any of the holy angels? For wrath killeth the foolish man, and jealousy slayeth him that is in error. 8. I have seen the foolish ones taking root, but presently their habitation was eaten up. 9. Let their sons be far from safety; let them be derided in the gates of lesser men, and there will be none to deliver. For the righteous shall eat what has been prepared for them, and they themselves shall not be delivered from evils."

XL. 1. Now that all these things are clear to us, and we have studied the depths of divine knowledge, we ought to do in due order all things which the Lord hath commanded us to perform at appointed times. 2. The offerings and ministrations he has commanded to be performed carefully, and not to be done in a haphazard or disorderly way, but at fixed times and seasons. 3. Where and by whom he desires them to be performed he has himself fixed according to his most excellent counsel, in order that all things may be done in holy wise according to his good pleasure and be acceptable to his will. 4. They then who at the appointed time make their offerings are acceptable and blessed, for following the ordinances of the Lord they err not. 5. For the high priest has been given his own proper services, and the priests have

been assigned their own place, and Levites have their own ministrations. The lay man is bound by the lay ordinances.

XLI. 1. Let each of you, brethren, in his own order give thanks to God, with a good conscience, not exceeding the fixed rule of his ministration, and with reverence. 2. Not everywhere, brethren, are offered the sacrifices of the continual burnt-offering or of the freewill offerings, or the offerings for sin and trespass, but in Jerusalem only. And even there they are not offered in every place, but before the shrine at the altar, after the offering has been examined for defects by the high priest and the aforesaid ministers. 3. Those who do anything contrary to what befits his will incur death as the penalty. 4. You see, brethren, the greater the knowledge of which we have been accounted worthy, the greater the danger to which we are exposed.

XLII. 1. The Apostles received the Gospel for our sakes from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus the Christ was sent from God. 2. Christ therefore is from God, and the Apostles are from Christ; in both cases all was done in good order according to God's will. 3. So when they had received their orders and had been filled with confidence by the resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and confirmed in faith by the word of God, they went out in the confidence of the Holy Spirit, preaching the Gospel, that the Kingdom of God was about to come. 4. So, preaching in country and city, they appointed their firstfruits, having tested them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons of those who should believe. 5. And this was no novelty, for long ago it had been written concerning bishops and deacons. For the Scripture says in one place: "I will establish their bishops in righteousness and their deacons in faith."

XLIII. 1. And what marvel is it if those who in Christ were entrusted by God with such a work appointed the

aforesaid? Since the blessed Moses also, “a faithful servant in all his house”, described in the holy books all that had been commanded him. He was followed by the rest of the prophets, who added their testimony to what he commanded in the law. 2. For when jealousy had broken out regarding the priesthood and the tribes were quarrelling as to which of them was to be adorned with that glorious name, he commanded the rulers of the twelve tribes to bring him rods engraved with the name of each tribe; these he took and bound, and sealed them with the rings of the rulers of the tribes, and put them in the tabernacle of testimony on the table of God. 3. And having shut the tabernacle he sealed in the same way both the keys and the doors. 4. And he said to them: “Brethren, the tribe whose rod blossoms, this hath God chosen to be priests to him and to be his ministers.” 5. And when morning came he called together all Israel, 600,000 men, and showed the seals to the rulers of the tribes and opened the tabernacle of witness and brought out the rods; and Aaron’s rod was found not only to have budded but even to be bearing fruit. 6. What think you, beloved? Did not Moses know beforehand that this would happen? Of course he knew; but, lest there should be disorder in Israel, he did thus, that the name of the true and only Lord should be glorified. To him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

XLIV. 1. Our Apostles also knew through Our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the bishop’s office. 2. So for this reason, since they had perfect foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons and subsequently gave them permanence, so that, if they should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministry. 3. Men, therefore, who were appointed by the Apostles, or subsequently by other eminent men, with the approval of the whole Church, and have ministered blamelessly to the flock

of Christ in a humble, peaceable, and broadminded way, and have had testimony borne to them by all for long periods—such men we consider are unjustly deposed from their ministry. 4. For it will be no small sin on our part, if we depose from the episcopal office those who have in blameless and holy wise offered the gifts. 5. Blessed are the presbyters who have gone before in the way, who came to a fruitful and perfect end; for they need have no fear lest anyone depose them from their assigned place. 6. For we see that you have removed certain men of good behaviour from a ministry blamelessly and honourably fulfilled.

XLV. 1. You are eager, brethren, and zealous about the things which pertain to salvation. 2. You have studied the Scriptures, which are true and given by the Holy Spirit. 3. You know that nothing unrighteous or falsified is written therein. You will not find the righteous cast out by holy men. 4. The righteous were persecuted, but by the lawbreakers. They were cast into prison, but by the impious. They were stoned, by transgressors; they were slain, by those that gave way to abominable and unrighteous jealousy. 5. Suffering such things they endured nobly. 6. What shall we say, brethren? Was Daniel thrown into the den of lions by those who feared God? 7. Or were Ananias, Azarias, and Misael shut up in a fiery furnace by those who joined in the excellent and noble worship of the Most High? Nothing of the kind! Who were the perpetrators of these things? Hateful men, full of all wickedness, who were carried to such a pitch of wrath that they treated with indignity men who served God with holy and blameless intent, not knowing that the Most High is the protector and champion of such as serve his excellent name with a pure conscience. To him be glory for ever and ever. Amen. 8. But those that endured in confidence inherited glory and honour, and were exalted, and

written by God in his book of remembrance of them for ever and ever. Amen.

XLVI. 1. To such examples we too must cleave, brethren. 2. For it is written: "Cleave to the saints, for they that cleave to them shall be sanctified." 3. And again in another place it says: "With an innocent man thou shalt be innocent, and with an elect man thou shalt be elect, and with a perverse man thou shalt be perverse." 4. Let us then cleave to the innocent and righteous; they are God's elect. 5. Why are there strifes and wraths and dissensions and schisms and war among you? 6. Have we not one God and one Christ and one Spirit of grace poured out upon us? and one calling in Christ? 7. Why do we tear apart and dissect the limbs of Christ and rise in revolt against our own body, and come to such a pitch of folly as to forget that we are members one of another? Remember the words of Jesus Our Lord. 8. For he said: "Woe to that man! It were good for him if he had not been born, rather than cause one of my elect to stumble; it were better for him that a millstone were hung round him and he cast into the depths of the sea, than that he pervert one of my elect." 9. Your schism has perverted many of you, cast many into despair, caused many to doubt and all of you to grieve. And your sedition continues.

XLVII. 1. Take up the epistle of blessed Paul the Apostle. 2. What did he first write to you in the beginning of the Gospel? 3. Of a truth, full of the Holy Spirit, he gave command respecting himself and Cephas and Apollos, because even then you were partisans. 4. But that partisanship involved you in less sin; for you were partisans of Apostles, to whom God bore witness, and of a man who was approved by them. 5. Now consider who have perverted you and diminished the reputation won by your famous love of the brethren. 6. It is disgraceful, brethren, very disgraceful, and

unworthy of Christian conduct, that of the stable and ancient Church of the Corinthians, thanks to one or two persons, it should be reported that it revolts against its presbyters. 7. And this report has come not only to us but to those who dissent from us, so that owing to your folly you bring revilings on the name of the Lord and also make danger accrue to yourselves.

XLVIII. 1. Let us then speedily remove this and let us fall down before the Lord and weep as we supplicate him, that he may be merciful and be reconciled to us and restore us to our reverent and holy practice of brotherly love. 2. For this is the open gate of righteousness, leading to life, as it is written: "Open me the gates of righteousness, that I may go in by them and praise the Lord. 3. This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter in by it." 4. There are many gates opened, but that of righteousness is the gate of Christ, by which all who enter, and direct their way in holiness and righteousness, are blessed, accomplishing everything without confusion. 5. Let a man be faithful, let him be able to utter knowledge, let him be wise to distinguish utterances, let him be energetic in works, let him be pure. 6. The greater he seems to be, so much the more should he be humble, and seek the common good and not his own.

XLIX. 1. Let him that has love in Christ keep Christ's commandments. 2. Who can describe the bond of the love of God? 3. Who is able to express the greatness of his beauty? 4. The height to which love raises us is unutterable. 5. Love binds us to God; love covers a multitude of sins; love bears all things, is long suffering in all things. There is nothing vulgar in love, nothing overbearing. Love knows no schism, love is not seditious, love does all things in concord. By love all the elect of God were perfected. Without love nothing is pleasing to God. 6. In love the Lord received us.

Because of the love he had towards us, Jesus Christ Our Lord gave his blood for us by the will of God, and his flesh for our flesh, and his life for our lives.

L. 1. You see, beloved, how great and marvellous a thing love is, and of its perfection there is no telling. 2. Who is able to be found in it except those whom God has counted worthy? Let us pray therefore, and desire of his mercy, that we may be found in love, spotless, without human partisanship. 3. All the generations from Adam unto this day have passed away, but those who have been perfected in love according to the grace of God live in the abode of the godly; who will be made manifest at the visitation of the Kingdom of God. 4. For it is written: "Enter into thy chambers a little while, until my wrath and anger pass, and I remember the good day and raise you from your tombs." 5. Blessed are we, brethren, if we perform the commandments of God in the concord of love, that our sins may be forgiven through love. 6. For it is written: "Blessed are those whose iniquities are forgiven and whose sins are covered; blessed is the man whose sin the Lord will not reckon, nor is there guile in his mouth." 7. This blessedness came to those who were chosen by God through Jesus Christ Our Lord, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

LI. 1. Let us pray, then, that all our transgressions, and all we have done wrong through any attacks of the Adversary, may be forgiven us. And they, too, who were the originators of sedition and dissension ought to consider the common hope. 2. For they who live in fear and love prefer to suffer tribulations themselves rather than their neighbours, and more willingly bear their own condemnation than that of the harmony which has been well and justly handed down to us. 3. For it is better for a man to confess his trespasses than to harden his heart, as their heart was hardened who revolted

against Moses the servant of God—whose condemnation was plain. 4. For they went down to Hades alive, and “death will shepherd them”. 5. Pharaoh and his host and all the rulers of Egypt, both the chariots and their riders, were plunged into the Red Sea and perished, for no other reason than that their senseless hearts were hardened after the signs and wonders had been wrought in the land of Egypt by Moses the servant of God.

LII. 1. Brethren, the Lord has need of nothing, nor does he require aught except that we confess to him. 2. For the elect David says: “I will confess to the Lord, and it shall please him more than a young bullock that hath horns and hoofs. Let the poor see it and rejoice.” 3. And again he says: “Sacrifice to God a sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows to the Highest; and call upon me in the day of thy affliction, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.” 4. “For the sacrifice of God is a broken spirit.”

LIII. 1. For you know the Holy Scriptures right well, beloved, and you have studied the oracles of God. So we write these things to remind you. 2. For when Moses went into the mount and spent forty days and forty nights in fasting and humiliation, God said to him: “Moses, Moses, get thee down quickly from hence, for thy people, which thou hast brought out of Egypt, have committed iniquity; they have quickly turned aside out of the way which thou commandedst them; they have made them molten images.” 3. And the Lord said to him: “I have spoken to thee once and twice, saying, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is stiff-necked. Let me alone, that I may destroy them, and I will blot out their name under heaven, and I will make thee a nation great and wonderful, and more numerous than this one. 4. And Moses said: Not so, Lord; forgive this people their sin, or blot me also out of the book of the living.”

5. O great love! O unsurpassed perfection! The servant speaks boldly to the Lord, he asks forgiveness for the multitude, or demands that he himself be blotted out with them.

LIV. 1. Who among you is noble? who is compassionate? who is filled with confident love? 2. Let him say: "If on my account there are sedition and strife and schisms, I will depart, I will go wherever you wish and will do what is commanded by the community; only let the flock of Christ be at peace with the appointed presbyters." 3. He who does this will win for himself great renown in Christ and every place will receive him, for "the earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof". 4. This is what they have done who have lived the life of the city of God with nothing to repent of, and so will they do in future.

LV. 1. Let us take examples also from the Gentiles. Many kings and rulers, in time of plague, at the bidding of an oracle have given themselves up to death, that by their life-blood they might save their citizens. Many have gone out from their cities, lest these should suffer any longer from sedition. 2. We know that many amongst us have given themselves up to bonds, in order to redeem others. Many have given themselves up to slavery and used the purchase money to provide food for others. 3. Many women, made strong by the grace of God, have accomplished many heroic actions. 4. The blessed Judith, when the city was besieged, asked permission from the elders to be allowed to go into the camp of the aliens. 5. Exposing herself to danger she went out for love of her country and of the people who were besieged, and the Lord gave Holophernes into the hand of a woman. 6. To no less danger did Esther, who was perfect in faith, expose herself, in order to save the twelve tribes of Israel that were ready to perish. For by fasting and humiliation she besought the all-seeing Lord, the God of the ages.

Who, seeing the humility of her soul, saved the people, for whose sake she ran into danger.

LVI. 1. Therefore let us too intercede on behalf of those who fall into any trespass, that gentleness and humility may be given them, so that they may yield not to us but to God's will. For so will our compassionate remembrance of them before God and the holy ones be fruitful and perfect. 2. Let us receive chastening, at which no one ought to be angry, beloved. The admonition which we give to one another is good and exceedingly beneficial; for it unites us to the will of God. 3. For the holy word says thus: "The Lord hath surely chastened me, and he delivered me not unto death." 4. "For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth." 5. "For", it says, "the righteous will chasten me with mercy and reprove me, but let not the mercy of sinners anoint my head." 6. And again it says: "Happy is the man whom the Lord hath corrected; and despise not the admonition of the Almighty; for he maketh (a man) to suffer pain, and again restoreth him. 7. He struck, and his hands healed. 8. Six times he shall deliver thee from troubles, and in the seventh time evil shall not touch thee. 9. In famine he shall rescue thee from death, and in war he shall free thee from the hand of the sword. 10. And from the scourge of the tongue he shall hide thee, and thou shalt not be afraid when evils come. 11. Thou shalt laugh the unrighteous and lawless men to scorn, and thou shalt not fear wild beasts. 12. For wild beasts shall be at peace with thee. 13. Then shalt thou know that thy house shall be in peace, and the habitation of thy tent shall not fail. 14. And thou shalt know that thy seed shall be many and thy children like the abundant herbs of the field. 15. And thou shalt come to the grave like ripe corn harvested in season, or like a heap on the threshing floor garnered at the proper

time.” 16. You see, brethren, how great a protection is given to those who are chastened by the Lord. For he chastens as a good father, that we may receive mercy through his holy chastening.

LVII. 1. Do you, therefore, who began the sedition, be in subjection to the presbyters and receive chastening unto repentance, bending the knees of your heart. 2. Learn to be in subjection, putting away the boastful and overweening obstinacy of your tongue; for it is better for you to be found in the flock of Christ small but of good repute, than seeming to be pre-eminent to be cast out from his hope. 3. For the excellent Wisdom says thus: “Behold, I will bring forth to you the utterance of my spirit, and I will teach you my word. 4. Because I called and ye obeyed not, and I put forth words and ye attended not, but made my counsels useless and disobeyed my reproofs. Therefore will I also laugh at your destruction, and I will rejoice when ruin cometh on you and when confusion suddenly overwhelms you and catastrophe descends like a whirlwind, or when affliction or a siege cometh. 5. For it shall come to pass when ye call upon me I will not hear you. The wicked shall seek me and shall not find me. For they hated knowledge and did not choose the fear of the Lord; neither would they heed my counsels but mocked my reproofs. 6. Therefore they shall eat the fruits of their own way, and shall be filled with their own impiety. 7. Because they wronged the simple they shall be slain, and judgment shall destroy the impious. But he that hearkeneth to me shall dwell in hope securely, and shall be quiet without fear of any evil.”

LVIII. 1. Let us then obey his all-holy and glorious name, escaping the threats uttered of old by Wisdom against the disobedient, in order that we may encamp in confidence resting on the most holy name of his majesty. 2. Receive

our counsel, and you will have no cause to regret. For as God liveth, and the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, and the Holy Spirit, the faith and hope of the elect, he who humbly, with persistent gentleness, and without having cause for regret, has performed the ordinances and commandments given by God, the same will be included and reckoned among the number of those saved by Jesus Christ, through whom is glory to God for ever and ever. Amen.

LIX. 1. But if any disobey the words spoken by him through us, let them know that they will involve themselves in transgression and no small danger. 2. But we shall be innocent of this sin; and we shall ask with earnest prayer and supplication that the Creator of all may keep unbroken the fixed number of his elect in all the world through his beloved servant Jesus Christ, through whom he called us from darkness to light, from ignorance to knowledge of the glory of his name. 3. Grant us, Lord, to hope on his name which is the basic principle of all creation, opening the eyes of our heart to know thee, who alone art highest in the highest, abiding holy among the holy ones. Thou humblest the insolence of the proud, destroying the imaginations of the Gentiles, lifting the humble aloft and humbling the lofty, making rich and making poor, killing and making alive, the only benefactor of spirits and God of all flesh. Thou lookest into the abyss, observer of men's works, helper of those in danger, saviour of those in despair, creator and overseer of every spirit. Thou increasest the nations on earth and didst choose out of them all those that love thee through Jesus Christ thy beloved servant, through whom thou hast trained, sanctified, and honoured us. 4. We beseech thee, Lord, to become our helper and protector. Save those of us in affliction, have mercy on the humble, raise the fallen, show thyself to those who are in need, heal the sick, turn back the wanderers of

thy people, feed the hungry, ransom our prisoners, raise up the weak, comfort the feeble-hearted. Let all the Gentiles know thee, that thou art God alone, and that Jesus Christ is thy Servant, and that “we are thy people and the sheep of thy pasture”.

LX. 1. For thou didst make manifest the everlasting constitution of the world through the forces set in operation. Thou, Lord, didst create the world. Thou who art faithful in all generations, righteous in judgments, marvellous in strength and excellence, wise in creating and prudent in stablishing all that was made, good in what is seen and kindly among them that trust in thee, merciful and pitiful—forgive our sins and unrighteousnesses, our trespasses and failings. 2. Reckon not every sin of thy servants and handmaidens, but cleanse us with the cleansing of thy truth, and make our steps straight that we may walk in holiness and righteousness and simplicity of heart, and may do what things are good and well-pleasing before thee and our governors. 3. Yea, Lord, let thy face shine upon us for good in peace, that we may be sheltered by thy strong hand and delivered from all sin by thine uplifted arm, and deliver us from those that hate us unrighteously. 4. Give concord and peace to us and to all the dwellers upon earth, as thou didst give to our fathers, when they called upon thee reverently in faith and truth, so that we may be saved, and grant that we may be obedient to thy almighty and excellent name, and to our governors and rulers on earth.

LXI. 1. Thou, Lord, hast given them the authority of the Kingdom by thy excellent and unutterable might, that we, recognising the glory and honour given them by thee, may be subject to them, in no respect opposing thy will. To them, Lord, grant health, peace, concord, stability, that they may administer the rule given them by thee without offence.

2. For thou, heavenly Lord, King of the ages, givest to the sons of men glory and honour, and authority over the things which are on earth. Do thou, Lord, direct their counsels according to what is good and well-pleasing before thee, that piously administering in peace and gentleness the authority given them by thee they may obtain thy mercy. 3. O thou who alone art able to do with us these good things and others more abundant, thee we praise through the high priest and protector of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom be glory and majesty to thee both now and for all generations and for ever and ever. Amen.

LXII. 1. We have written sufficiently unto you, brethren, concerning the things which befit our religion and are most helpful to the virtuous life for those who wish to direct their way piously and righteously. 2. In regard to faith and repentance and genuine love and self-control and discretion and patience we have exhausted every topic, reminding you that you must please Almighty God with holiness in righteousness and truth and long-suffering, in a life of concord, forgetting injuries, in love and peace, with persistent gentleness, as our fathers already mentioned pleased him, being humble towards God the Father and Creator and towards all men. 3. And we have reminded you of these things the more gladly, since we knew well that we were writing to men who are faithful and of good repute, and have studied the oracles of God's instruction.

LXIII. 1. It is right, then, that, confronted by so many glorious examples, we should bow the neck and take the seat of obedience, and submit to those who are leaders of our souls, that ceasing from vain sedition we may reach the mark set before us in truth, free from all blame. 2. For you will give us joy and gladness if, obedient to what we have written through the Holy Spirit, you root out the lawless anger of

your jealousy, according to the prayer for peace and concord which we have made in this letter. 3. We are sending faithful and discreet men, who have lived amongst us without blame from youth to old age; they will be witnesses between you and us. 4. This we do that you may know that all our care has been, and still is, that you may soon be at peace.

LXIV. Finally, may the all-seeing God and ruler of the spirits and Lord of all flesh, who chose out Our Lord Jesus Christ, and us through him as the people of his possession, give to every soul on whom his excellent and holy name is called faith, fear, peace, endurance, long-suffering, self-control, sanctity, and discretion, that they may be well-pleasing to his name through our high priest and protector Jesus Christ; through whom be to him glory and majesty, strength and honour, both now and for ever and ever. Amen.

LXV. 1. Our envoys—Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito with Fortunatus—send back to us quickly in peace with joy, that they may speedily bring news of your peace and concord, the object of so much prayer and longing; that we too may rejoice as soon as possible at your good order. 2. The grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and with all who everywhere have been called by God through him; through whom be to him glory, honour, might and majesty, and eternal dominion, from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians

NOTES

TITLE. Modelled on 1 Cor. i. 1-3; 1 Pet. i. 1-2. **Sojourns.** The patriarchs were "strangers and pilgrims on the earth" (Heb. xi. 13). Christians are a "dispersion" (1 Pet. i. 1) of the heavenly commonwealth (Phil. iii. 20).

I. 1. The persecution under Domitian has prevented them from writing sooner. There is no hint of an appeal from Corinth; news has probably come from Roman Christians returning home. The Church writes *proprio motu*. Like Galatians, the Epistle begins with blame. The customary praise follows, but even the blame is mitigated by a reference to the few who are responsible and to the greatness of the reputation spoiled. **Sedition** (στάσις). The technical term for the revolutionary intestine strife traditional in Greek cities. **Reviled** (βλασφημηθῆναι). LS presuppose βλαφθῆναι, "(your reputation)...has been damaged", perhaps to be preferred as the harder reading. To "blaspheme the name" in the Bible means to cause the name of God to be reviled. But "your (Christian) name" here makes good sense, cf. 2 Pet. ii. 2, where "the way of the truth", i.e. Christianity, is blasphemed (R.V. "evil spoken of"). See p. 11 for the circumstances which occasioned this Epistle.

2. **Stayed...hospitality.** Corinth was a natural stopping-place between Rome and the East. They are warned against "neglect of hospitality" in xxxv. 5, so perhaps a break in the good tradition had been reported. **Knowledge.** Not apparently in the technical sense of *gnosis*.

3. **Rulers.** As in Heb. xiii. 7, of those who directed worship and preached, see p. 25. **Elder men** (Gk. *presbyters*), followed by **the young**, is to be taken generally, not in a technical sense. Women's virtues are described after the

manner of the Pastoral Epistles, which reproduce both Jewish and pagan morality.

II. 1. **You gave** Cf. Acts xx. 35, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Also a commonplace of Greek and Roman morality, so it cannot be taken as proving a knowledge of the Acts passage. **God's rations**. A only, elsewhere **Christ's**. If "God's" is read, the reference is to material things, as in the earlier part of the sentence: if "Christ's", then to spiritual sustenance, as in what follows. **His sufferings**. "Christ's" is the more natural sense and therefore an easy emendation of "God's rations" above. But "God's" is supported by Ignatius, *Eph.* i. 1, "the blood of God", and *Rom.* vi. 3, "the passion of my God", phrases which were avoided by later theology. See p. 21 for Clement's Christology.

2. **The Holy Spirit** does not refer to ecstasy. The Spirit is an accessory rather than the source of peace and well-doing as in St Paul.

3. **Mercy** . . . **unwillingly**. A Jewish rather than distinctively Christian conception of sin and forgiveness.

4. **Fear** (δέους) C, elsewhere ἐλέους, "mercy". Fear and conscience (or rather, conscientiousness) are attributes of men. If "mercy" is read, an attribute of God. **Conscience** (συνειδήσεως) must be corrupt; Lake suggests συναισθήσεως, "compassion". **Number of his elect**. A traditional eschatological phrase, probably enshrined in liturgical language; cf. lix. 2.

5. **Sincere and innocent** (εἰλικρινεῖς, ἀκέραιοι). The words occur in Phil. i. 10, ii. 15.

7. **Being ready** Tit. iii. 1.

8. **Commandments and ordinances**. LXX and liturgical (e.g. *Apost. Const.* viii. 5; Brightman, p. 4) phrase. **Were written** Prov. vii. 3 LXX.

III. 1. Deut. xxxii. 15.

3. **Dishonoured . . . honoured . . . young . . . elders.** Isa.

iii. 5. This ends the Scripture reference.

4. **Righteousness . . . far removed.** Based on Isa. lix. 14. **Behave . . . Christian.** Lit. "act as a citizen (πολιτεύεσθαι) according to what is befitting to Christ". Clement the Roman is fond of this metaphor of citizenship (ii. 8, vi. 1, xxi. 1, xliv. 6, li. 2, liv. 4), which is perhaps derived from Phil. i. 27. **Death . . . world.** Taken from Wisd. ii. 24, "by the envy of the devil death entered into the world"; cf. Rom. v. 12, "through one man sin entered into the world, and death through sin". The responsibility is laid upon the devil (Wisdom), Adam (Paul), Cain (Clement). Clement's inability to appreciate the Adam-theology of Paul is noteworthy.

IV. 1-6. Gen. iv. 3-8. See p. 31 for use of LXX.

8. **Our father.** Note how completely these Greek-speaking Romans are children of the O.T. This chapter suggests a preacher's style. The first example is given in full, the others would be expanded from the notes in delivery.

10. Ex. ii. 14.

11. **Aaron and Miriam.** In Num. xii. 15 Miriam only.

V. 1. **Athletes.** The conception of martyrs = athletes is found in Heb. xii. 1. The Christians derived it from the Jewish praise of the Maccabees; cf. 4 Macc. xvii. 14: "The tyrant was their opponent, and the world and the society of mankind were the spectators." **Recent past** fits the Neronian persecution, by contrast with the O.T.; cf. the Muratorian Fragment, which says that Hermas wrote "The Shepherd" "quite recently (*nuperrime*) in our times", in fact some forty years before.

2. Peter and Paul come later, the writer making a fresh start. **Pillars**, therefore, is a title of the Apostles and

apostolic men generally; see Gal. ii. 9, where Paul takes up the current title, which may go back to Matt. xvi. 18, "I will build my church"—the Apostles are pillars of the new temple made without hands. The end of the Apostles was for the most part unknown and the belief was already established that all died a martyr's death.

3. Possibly we should render "our" **good Apostles**, the point being that Peter and Paul had both laboured, as it was believed, at Corinth and Rome. **Good** applied to an athlete denotes "brave", "heroic".

4. For the deaths of Peter and Paul see pp. 14-18. **Jealousy**. If the word is more than rhetorical in this chapter, the reference will be to Jewish jealousy of renegades, and of Gentiles claiming to be the true Israel. Little is said of Peter, who however has precedence of Paul. **Many labours**. The phrase is conventional of Greek heroes (cf. the labours of Hercules) and need not imply detailed knowledge of things unknown to us. **Having borne witness** (μαρτυρήσας). The specialised sense of martyrdom is not inherent in the word but is given by the context; see vi. **Due place**. Cf. Jn. xiv. 2, "I go to prepare a place for you", and Acts i. 25, Judas went "to his own place". "The special place my dearest Lord In love prepares for me" (Faber) gives the sense.

5. **Displayed**. If the text is right, the meaning is either "displayed by winning" or "showed the way to"; neither is satisfactory.

6. **Seven times**. Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 23, "in prisons more abundantly"—only the Philippian imprisonment has so far been mentioned in the N.T.

7. **Righteousness**. In the Jewish, not the technical Pauline, sense. **The limits of the West** geographically were "the pillars of Hercules", i.e. the Straits of Gibraltar, so that Spain is meant. A Roman could not have thought of his city as being on the Western boundary of the world.

A Spanish journey was contemplated by Paul (Rom. xv. 24). Such a journey is difficult to reconcile with the data of the N.T. We must conclude either that tradition assumed the intention was carried out, the true facts having been forgotten, or that Clement refers to a matter of common knowledge, our ignorance of which is a salutary reminder of the limits of the N.T. evidence. The Muratorian Fragment says that Luke omitted "the departure of Paul from town on his journey to Spain" because he was not an eyewitness. The phrase "from town" (*ab urbe*) shows how impossible it is to take "the limits of the West" as meaning Rome. Philostratus' account of Apollonius' visit to Rome from Greece in the days of Nero, followed by his journey to the Atlantic shores of Spain (*Vita*, iv. 39-47), is an apt illustration. **The rulers.** I.e. the Emperor and/or his representatives. The same word is used for the rulers of the Church and of the State. **Went** (ἐπορεύθη). So A.C. The versions have "was taken up" (ἀνελήμφθη).

VI. 1. **Associated** The implication is that the leaders were martyred first in the Neronian persecution. **A great multitude.** So Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 44, *multitudo ingens*), who goes on to describe the ignominies and tortures.

2. **Danaids and Dircae.** Roman authors describe the terrible punishments inflicted in the arena under the guise of representations of well-known myths. Later we have Tertullian's account, referring to Carthage: "Wretched criminals . . . often put on divinity and actually play the very gods. We have seen in our day a representation of the mutilation of Attis, that famous god of Pessinus, and a man burnt alive as Hercules. We have made merry, amid the ludicrous cruelties of the noon-day exhibition, at Mercury examining the bodies of the dead with his hot iron; we have witnessed Jove's brother, mallet in hand, dragging out the

corpses of the gladiators" (*Apol.* 15). The traditional punishment of the daughters of Danaus in the underworld was eternally to fill with water a cask with holes in it; some more cruel variation is probably meant. Dirce was tied to the horns of a bull and dragged to death.

3. Gen. ii. 23.

4. As in many Greek cities. But the fate of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 may be in the writer's mind.

VII. 1. **Same arena . . .** Martyrdom could not be faced in a more calmly beautiful spirit.

2. **Live . . . rule.** Lit. "come to". **Rule** (κάνονα) may be a continuation of the metaphor, referring to the measure of the leap or race; **handed down** (lit. "our tradition") in that case refers to the example of the Neronian martyrs. But the rendering in the text is more in accordance with the churchmanship of Rome.

4. See p. 27. The writer has not thought out a theology of the Atonement; it is not clear how repentance won by the Cross differs from that available in the O.T. Cf. 1 Pet. i. 19. **His Father.** AC add **his God.**

5. **The Lord** (ὁ δεσπότης). So frequently in Clement; translated "Lord" in this edition because "The Master" in English religious language means Christ. **Place of repentance.** So Wisd. xii. 10; Heb. xii. 17.

6. **Noah preached.** Cf. 2 Pet. ii. 5, "Noah a preacher of righteousness."

7. **Did not . . . people.** Lit. "aliens to God". Cf. Eph. ii. 12, "(Ye Gentiles) alienated from the commonwealth of Israel . . . and without God in the world."

VIII. 2. Taken from Ezek. xxxiii. 11.

3. Phrases taken from Ps. ciii. 11; Jer. iii. 19, 22; Isa. i. 18. But **adding this** seems to attribute the quotation to Ezekiel.

It is therefore best to suppose a quotation from a pseudo-Ezekiel, or from a text of the canonical Ezekiel differing from ours.

4. Isa. i. 16–20.

IX. 2. **Excellent glory.** As in 2 Pet. i. 17.

3. The sequence of Enoch, Noah, Abraham, comes from Heb. xi, as does the description of Enoch.

4. **Regeneration** (παλιγγενεσίαν). The new world after the flood. The word is used by the Stoics of the universe renewed after conflagration; in Matt. xix. 28 eschatologically. **Concord.** The animals are an example to the Corinthians.

X. 1. **The Friend.** Cf. Isa. xli. 8; 2 Chron. xx. 7; James ii. 23.

3. Gen. xii. 1–3.

4, 5. Gen. xiii. 14–16.

6. Gen. xv. 5, 6; Rom. iv. 3.

7. **Hospitality** is put by the side of **faith** (cf. xi. 1, xii. 1) to shame the Corinthians; cf. i. 2, xxxv. 5.

XI. 1. Gen. xix; 2 Pet. ii. 6, 7.

XII. 1. Josh. ii. Rahab's faith and hospitality are equated with Lot's hospitality and piety. Faith therefore here means little more than piety. Heb. xi. 31 mentions Rahab's faith, James ii. 25 her works; Clement combines the two ideas. The A text has ἐπιλεγόμενη, "who was called a harlot"—**Rahab "the harlot"** would represent the sense. The reading also occurs in Hebrews; the reference in both places may be to a figurative interpretation of the word.

8. Prophecy here is simply prediction.

XIII. 1. **Let not...** Quoted from 1 Sam. ii. 10; Jer. ix. 23, 24, conflated; see also 1 Cor. i. 31; 2 Cor. x. 17. **Remembering the words.** The words of Christ are the second authority, by the side of the O.T. They are not "Scripture".

For the formula cf. xlvi. 7, Polycarp ii. 3, Acts xx. 35. See pp. 32–34 for the Gospels in Clement. “Remember” seems to suggest words found in a form of catechetical instruction rather than a book familiar, as the O.T. was, to the Corinthians.

2. Matt. v. 7, vi. 14, 15, vii. 1, 2, 12; Luke vi. 31, 36–38. See p. 32 for the problem here presented.

4. Isa. lxvi. 2.

XIV. 1. **Obedient to God.** A commonplace in the classical writers and the Rabbis; cf. Acts iv. 19, v. 29.

3. **To them** (αὐτοῖς A). Elsewhere “to one another” (ἑαυτοῖς).

4. Prov. ii. 21, 22; influenced by Ps. xxxvii. 9, 38.

5. Ps. xxxvii. 35–37.

XV. 1. **Hypocrisy.** A warning against a false peace at Corinth.

2. Isa. xxix. 13, influenced by the text which appears in Matt. xv. 8; Mark vii. 6.

3. Ps. lxii. 4.

4. Ps. lxxviii. 36, 37.

5, 6. Ps. xxxi. 18. S alone gives the true text, the rest omitting the Greek words which follow the first **deceitful** (δόλια) up to and including the second **deceitful**, by what is known as *homoioleuton*. Ps. xii. 3–5.

XVI. 2. **Sceptre** is perhaps suggested by Heb. i. 8.

3–14. Isa. liii. 1–12. Note that this passage is quoted in preference to the Passion narrative.

15, 16. Ps. xxii. 6–8.

XVII. 1. **Goatskins** From Heb. xi. 37, but applied to the traditional “hairy mantle” of the prophets, cf. Zech. xiii. 4. **Of good report.** Lit. “testified to” (in Scripture).

2. **Friend of God.** Cf. x. 1. Gen. xviii. 27.

3. Job i. 1.

4. Job xiv. 4, 5.

5. **Faithful** Cf. Num. xii. 7; Heb. iii. 5. **Who am I** Exod. iii. 11, iv. 10.

6. Source unknown.

XVIII. 1. Ps. lxxxix. 20, conflated with 1 Sam. xiii. 14, as in Acts xiii. 22.

2-17. Ps. li. 1-17.

12. **Ruling** (ἡγεμονικῶ). A famous LXX translation, which was taken as identifying the Spirit with the ruling, guiding spirit of the Stoics, the centre of rational life.

XIX. 2. Suggested by Heb. xii. 1, 2, but the Father, not Jesus, is the goal. **Father**. In the sense of Creator, not as in the Sermon on the Mount.

XX. Since Drews' *Untersuchungen über die sogen. Clemen-tinische Liturgie* (1906) this chapter has been recognised as giving a free rendering of the primitive Roman anaphora (canon). See Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, pp. 14-18 ("The Syrian Rite of the Apostolic Constitutions", Book viii). The plan of the thanksgiving is the same and there are close verbal similarities. See pp. 36 ff. for the liturgical importance of Clement. The thanksgiving here is often O.T. in phraseology, but the general conception of order in Nature is derived from Greek philosophy. The chapter originates in Hellenistic Judaism; neither Christ, nor the Logos, nor the Holy Spirit, is mentioned until the end, when Christ is added as a kind of afterthought. In the following notes some parallels are cited from Brightman (given as Br., with the page and the line).

1-3. Order is heaven's first law.

2. **Day and night**. Br. 15: 17.

3. **Sun and moon and the choruses of stars**. Br. 15: 20-22.

4. The other leading thought, of beneficence.
5. **Judgments** (κρίματα). “Realms” (κλίματα) is a plausible emendation, but cf. Ps. xxxvi. 6, “Thy judgments are a great deep.”
6. **Basin** (κύτος). Br. 16: 2. The place of his gathering. Gen. i. 9 LXX.
7. Job xxxviii. 11.
8. **Worlds**. Such as Atlantis.
10. **Stations of the winds . . . perennial springs**. Br. 16: 16, 9.
11. **Concord . . . benefits**. Summing up the lessons.
12. Doxology; cf. xxxii, xxxviii, xliii, xlv, l, lviii, lxi, lxiv, lxv. The reason for inserting doxologies is not clear; perhaps they mark the end of liturgical or homiletic blocks of material.

XXI. 2. Prov. xx. 27.

4. **Deserters**. A military metaphor, cf. xxxvii.
5. **Foolish . . . men**. Those responsible for the sedition.
6. **Have the rule over us** (τοὺς προηγούμενους ἡμῶν). As in i. 3 followed by a mention of **elders** and the **young**; **elders** is used in a non-technical sense, though it may include the council of presbyters. See p. 25.
8. See p. 30 for the conception of morality.

XXII. 1-7. Ps. xxxiv. 11-17.

7. **Many are the afflictions . . .** Ps. xxxiv. 19. Added by S. Either omitted by A, etc. owing to the beginning's being the same as in 8 (πολλὰ αἱ) or added by S from the LXX.

8. Ps. xxxii. 10.

XXIII. From here to the end of xxvii forms a digression on the subject of eschatology and the resurrection. As is attested in 1 Cor. xv, so here we may surmise that unorthodox views on these points were held by some at Corinth.

3, 4. The quotation here introduced as **scripture** occurs also in 2 Clem. xi, with an additional clause, as “the prophetic word”. Its source is Jewish, not Christian, for Clement confines “scripture” to the O.T. Perhaps it comes from the Book of Eldad and Modad, which was known in the Roman Church and dealt with the approaching tribulations. Cf. Hermas, *Vis.* ii. 3: “Behold tribulation cometh (upon thee), if thou think fit to deny a second time. ‘The Lord is nigh unto them that turn unto him’, as it is written in Eldad and Modad, who prophesied to the people in the wilderness”; see also *Vis.* iii. 4 soon after, where the “double-minded” (δίψυχοι, as here) are rebuked.

3. **In the days of our fathers.** If Eldad and Modad is of Jewish origin, the fathers are the ancestors in the desert; quoted by Christian writers, the passage refers to the last generation of believers. It recalls 2 Pet. iii. 4: “Where is the promise of his coming? for, from the day that the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.” See p. 43.

4. Reminiscent of Mark iv. 26–29; similar imagery occurs in Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius.

5. Isa. xiii. 22 b LXX; Mal. iii. 1, with **the Holy One** for “the messenger” (“angel”).

XXIV. 1. **Proving.** St Paul’s illustration has become a proof. **Firstfruits.** Suggested by 1 Cor. xv. 20.

3. The thought is expanded by Tertullian, *de Res. Carnis*, 12.

5. **The sower went forth.** Verbally as in Matt. xiii. 3; Mark iv. 3. **Bare** (γυμνά), as in 1 Cor. xv. 37.

XXV. The phoenix legend seems to be a literalisation of an astrological term. The longevity of the bird is mentioned by Hesiod (frag. 50). The story was told to Herodotus, who reproduces it as an unreliable story. It was generally accepted

by the Greeks and the Romans. Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 28) relates that the bird appeared in Egypt in A.D. 34 and gives the story much as Clement does, concluding: "All this is full of doubt and legendary exaggeration. Still, there is no question that the bird is occasionally seen in Egypt." The Jews also accepted the story, see the LXX of Job xxix. 18; Ps. xcii. 12 (as interpreted by Tertullian, *de Res. Carnis*, 13).

3. **Heliopolis = O.T. On.**

XXVI. 2. Ps. xxviii. 7b (in LXX), iii. 5; Job xix. 26 are the references; the passages are quoted from memory.

XXVII. 1. **Faithful in his promises.** Cf. Heb. x. 23, "He is faithful that promised."

2. Cf. Heb. vi. 18, "It is impossible for God to lie."

4. Cf. Heb. i. 3, "by the word of his power".

5. Wisd. xii. 12.

7. Ps. xix. 1-3.

XXVIII. 2. **What world?** Cf. xx. 8, "the worlds beyond (the ocean)". The writing (γραφειον). A technical term, of which this is the earliest example, for the third division of the Hebrew Bible, the Law and the Prophets being the first two.

3. Ps. cxxxix. 7, 8.

4. **Holds...grasp.** A Stoic rather than Jewish conception of God. The combination of this and the idea of other worlds with the psalm is instructive.

XXIX. 1. **Lifting up...hands.** Cf. 1 Tim. ii. 8, "lifting up holy hands". **Chosen portion.** Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 9, "an elect race, a holy nation"; Christians are "the third race", by the side of Jews and Gentiles.

2. Deut. xxxii. 8, 9. **Angels of God.** LXX, "sons of God" (i.e. angels), gives us the true text as against the Hebrew "children of Israel". Each nation has its guardian angel

(like the Churches in Rev. i–iii): God claims Israel for himself.

3. Apparently from a lost source, if not a cento made up of a number of O.T. passages.

XXX. 1. The Holy One's portion. A only. C(?) LS "a holy portion".

2. Prov. iii. 34; James iv. 6; 1 Pet. v. 5.

3. **Works.** Cf. xxxi. 2, xxxiii. 7. Does this show that James is quoted above? See p. 36.

4. Job xi. 2, 3. **Blessed...lived** is not in Heb. text; Clement means "and therefore has little opportunity to sin by words".

XXXI. 2. Righteousness...faith. Reconciling Paulinism with everyday morality; see p. 27.

3. **Gladly.** So in Josephus and Jewish tradition generally—a natural inference.

4. **Sceptre...Israel.** Lit. "twelve-sceptre of Israel", i.e. the twelve tribes.

XXXII. 2. According to the flesh. Cf. Rom. ix. 5. The suggestion is that Jesus is the High Priest, as in Heb. **Thy seed...heaven.** In Gen. xv. 5 and xxii. 17 said to Abraham, in xxvi. 4 to Isaac.

4. **We also.** Christians, contrasted with the very numerous Jews above, who are also blessed, though to a lesser extent.

XXXIII. 1. The opening seems to be modelled on Rom. vi. 1.

2. **For.** God set the example of good works. 2–6, like xx, is liturgical in tone; see p. 40.

4. **Impress** (χαρὰκτῆρα) **of his own image** (εἰκόνας). Cf. Gen. i. 26; Heb. i. 3.

5. Gen. i. 26, 27.

6. Gen. i. 28.

7. **We saw** (εἶδομεν) is Lightfoot's emendation for the MSS. reading ἴδωμεν, "let us observe".

XXXIV. 3. A conflation of Isa. xl. 10, lxii. 11; Prov. xxiv. 12; perhaps already familiar in Rome from Rev. xxii. 12.

4. **In every good work.** Tit. iii. 1.

6. Dan. vii. 10; Isa. vi. 3 (the *Sanctus* of the liturgy).

7. **Gathered together** (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναχθέντες). Liturgical terms; cf. *synaxis*, the Christian "assembly". Corinth and Rome share one worship, which is also one with that of heaven.

8. Quoted from 1 Cor. ii. 9, with **wait** in place of "love", which however is read here by CS.

XXXV. 2. **Life in immortality.** A Greek rather than Johannine conception.

3. **Ages** (aeons). Probably angel beings. **Beauty.** Characteristically Hellenic.

5. **Unrighteousness etc.** Based on Rom. i. 29-32. **Neglect of hospitality** (ἀφιλοξενίαν) CS. A has "hospitality" (φιλοξενίαν).

6. Rom. i. 32.

7-12. Ps. l. 16-23.

XXXVI. This chapter is based upon Hebrews, except for 2, up to the quotation.

1. **High priest.** So in Heb. ii. 17, iii. 1, etc. But Christ's high priesthood is not connected with his death. Rather he is priest of the Eucharistic offerings; see p. 40. **Infirmity.** As in Heb. iv. 15.

2. **Through him.** For the Christology cf. p. 21. **See as in a mirror.** Cf. 2 Cor. iii. 18. **Senseless and darkened.** Cf. Rom. i. 21, "their senseless heart was darkened". **His marvellous light,** AC. But read "the light" (LS); "his marvellous" is added from 1 Pet. ii. 9. **Who...name.** Heb. i. 3, 4.

3. Heb. i. 7.
4. Heb. i. 5.
5. Heb. i. 13.

XXXVII. 1. **Serve in his army.** Against the “enemies” of xxxvi. 5. The metaphor is Christian, cf. 2 Cor. x. 3, 4; Eph. vi. 13ff.; 1 Tim. i. 18; 2 Tim. ii. 3, 4. It is also pagan, used by the Stoics and especially developed in Mithraism.

2. **Our (military) rulers.** Referred to with patriotic pride. Note that the same word (ἡγούμενοι) is used in Clement for the rulers both of the State, civil and military, and of the Church. **Rulers** can hardly mean the Emperors, see 3.

3. **Prefects** (ἐπαρχοί). An elastic term. **Tribunes.** Lit. “chiliarchs” (set over 1000 men). **Leaders of fifty.** Possibly the *optio* (lieutenant) is meant; or the passage is influenced by Exod. xviii. 21, “rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties”. **In his own order.** “Rank” is meant, but the translation keeps the possible allusion to 1 Cor. xv. 23. **The king** (βασιλέως). The Eastern title for the Emperor: *rex* in Latin was not used. See 1 Pet. ii. 13, where “the king” is followed by “governors” (ἡγεμόσιν).

4. **The great....** A familiar saying, which Lightfoot prints as a quotation from Soph. *Ajax*, 158f.

5. Based on 1 Cor. xii. 12–26.

XXXVIII. 1. **Whole body...in Christ** brings in the mystical teaching of 1 Corinthians so far omitted. **Spiritual gift.** Cf. 1 Cor. vii. 7; Rom. xii. 6—not of “charismatic” gifts.

2. **Strong, weak.** The “weak” in Rom. xv. 1 are those who have unnecessary scruples over food and drink, contrasted with the “strong” (in Christian liberty). **Not neglect** (μὴ ἄτημελείτω) is Lightfoot’s restoration of A, which is corrupt. CS “have care for” (τημελείτω). **Lacking...supplied.** The phrase is found in 1 Cor. xvi. 17. **Be so** (ἦτω). Lit. “be so

and not vaunt.” Lightfoot adopts the reading ἦτω καὶ (CS omit). **Pure**, i.e. the ascetic.

3. Solemn liturgical language. **Tomb and darkness** refer to the underworld rather than to the womb.

4. **Give thanks** (εὐχαριστεῖν) and the doxology confirm the impression of liturgical speech.

XXXIX. 3–9. Job iv. 16–v. 5, with xv. 15 inserted.

XL. 1. The second part of the Epistle, to which the first is preparatory, begins. **Depths...knowledge**. Sounding mystical and gnostic, this refers in fact to the intensive study of the O.T.

2. A surprising view of the Levitical law in one who was so much influenced by the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Temple had been destroyed nearly a generation ago; polemic was now unnecessary. But the Scripture was the word of God and must be significant. To apply it to Christian worship was natural. **Carefully** (ἐπιμελῶς) is Lightfoot's addition to the text.

5. There is no suggestion that high priest, priest, and Levite are the prototype of bishop, priests, and deacons; but that the inference should be drawn later was inevitable. **The lay** (λαϊκός) **man**. The word's first occurrence in extant literature, though in Greek versions of the O.T. other than the LXX it is found in the sense “profane”. It is formed from the noun λαός, “the (sacred) people”, as distinguished from the priests. In its Christian sense here it marks a clear distinction between the ministry and the people. See p. 41.

XLI. 1. **In his own order**. Cf. xxxvii. 3; 1 Cor. xv. 23. **Give thanks** (εὐχαριστεῖτω). I.e. join in the Eucharist. So A, but “be well pleasing” (εὐαριστεῖτω), CLS, is more likely in an address to the laity; it is confirmed by *Apostolic Church Order* 23, which quotes this passage.

2. **Freewill offerings** (εὐχῶν). I.e. offerings arising out of vows. C reads **prayers** (προσευχῶν).

3. For the death penalty for enticing to idolatry see Deut. xiii. 9; for cultic offences, Lev. xvii (“cut off from among the people”). Clement does not imagine that this is still in force; the present tense means: We find this in Scripture, which is eternally valid.

XLII. 1. **The Apostles** as a whole, not Peter and Paul. The sentence gives the sense of Matt. x. 40.

2. The implication is that the next step, ordination of successors to the Apostles, is equally according to God’s will.

3. **About to come.** A pre-Gospels point of view, see p. 23.

4. L adds before **appointed** “baptizing those who obeyed the will of God”. **Appointed.** The same word as in Tit. i. 5, “appoint elders in every city”. **Firstfruits.** See Rom. xvi. 5; 1 Cor. xvi. 15. **Bishops and deacons.** As in Phil. i. 1. **Who should believe,** apparently in advance of present requirements.

5. Isa. lx. 17 (in LXX): “I will give thy rulers in peace and thy taskmasters (ἐπισκόπους) in righteousness.” Clement knows a different version, or else alters the phrasing to bring out what he thinks is the obvious meaning. The general view is that bishops and presbyters are identical terms in Clement, as in the N.T. But why did Clement, or some one before him, alter the quotation in order to use it to support the institution of the episcopate and the diaconate, if the episcopate was identical with the presbyterate? There was no lack of passages referring to presbyters. See p. 25.

XLIII. A very significant chapter for the importance of the O.T. in Clement’s eyes. As Moses provided for the future of the priesthood in view of jealousy, so the Apostles acted for the Christian equivalent.

1. **Since** (ὅπου). The sense “whereas” is well attested;

here a causal sense is clear. **Faithful servant.** Taken from Heb. iii. 5; cf. Num. xii. 7. Probably the meaning is not "with all his household" but "in all God's house". **Holy books.** Cf. liii. 1; apparently a phrase for the Scriptures, not specially the Law. **Prophets.** Moses was the first of the prophets, Deut. xviii. 15.

2-6. Num. xvii, amplified in the Jewish haggadic style, as in Josephus and Philo.

6. **True and only.** Cf. Jn. xvii. 3, "the only true God". **Lord C only.** SK "God".

XLIV. This chapter is the centre of controversy. The notes which follow deal briefly with the points at issue, which are discussed further on pp. 24-26. It may safely be assumed that the Roman Church was organised similarly to the Corinthian.

1. **Knew through** (words spoken when on earth). If this is Clement's meaning, the Apostles are the twelve. But he may refer to prophetic illumination and include Paul.

2. **Permanence** (ἐπιμονήν) is Lightfoot's conjecture. But "a law" (or, "a codicil", ἐπινομήν A, and L, "legem"), though difficult, the Greek word not being attested elsewhere in this sense, must be read. **Fall asleep**, before the second coming; **they** = those appointed.

3. **Eminent men.** Those who succeeded to the prerogatives of the Apostles, i.e. then belonging to the non-local ministry. **With the approval.** . . . The local Church is meant. To this day the newly elected Pope is acclaimed by the people of Rome. **Broadminded** (ἄβανεύσως). Not with vulgar self-assertion. **Such men.** I.e. duly appointed and commended by long and honourable service. The problem of the deposition of unworthy officers is not raised.

4. **Offered the gifts.** In the liturgy.

5. **Presbyters.** Naturally identified with the holders of

the **episcopal office** above, but the evidence is not clear enough to justify a confident answer.

6. **Honourably fulfilled** (τετιμημένης). ACL(?) and probably K. Lightfoot suggests **preserved** (τετηρημένης).

XLV. 2. **Studied**. Presumably by carefully attending to the public reading of Scripture. The mass of O.T. allusions shows that intimate knowledge could be assumed; private Bible reading need not be excluded.

6. Dan. vi.

7. Dan. iii.

XLVI. 2. The source of the quotation is unknown.

3. Ps. xviii. 25, 26, where however **thou** is God.

6. The closest parallel is Eph. iv. 4–6: “One Spirit . . . one hope of your calling, one Lord . . . one God.”

7. Cf. xxxvii. 5; 1 Cor. xii. 12f.; Rom. xii. 5: “We, who are many, are one body in Christ, and severally members one of another.” **Remember**. Cf. xiii. 1. **Jesus Our Lord A**. “Our Lord Jesus Christ” CSK. “The Lord Jesus” L.

8. Matt. xxvi. 24 and parallels; Luke xvii. 2 and parallels are the nearest equivalents in the Gospels. **Pervert one of my elect** (LSK), being further from the Gospel texts, is to be preferred to “offend one of my little ones” (AC). Clement is rearranging and adapting words of Christ as he does in the case of the O.T.; or more probably, since the words of Christ were so sacred, using an uncanonical source.

XLVII. 1. **Epistle**. Whether Clement knew the Second Epistle is an open question. **Blessed**. So of Moses, xliii. 1, and of Judith, lv. 4. Cf. Rev. xiv. 13: “blessed are the dead”.

2. **Beginning**. I.e. when he began to preach the Gospel. But an attractive suggestion is “at the beginning of the Gospel as proclaimed by Paul”, i.e. the first book of the primitive collection of his Epistles; cf. the Muratorian Fragment where Corinthians heads the list. See 1 Cor. i. 10 ff.

3. **Full of the Holy Spirit.** Lit. "spiritually".
4. **Bore witness.** Perhaps in martyrdom.
7. **Danger.** Of divine wrath.

XLVIII. 2, 3. Ps. cxviii. 19, 20.

5. The text is doubtful. **Let him be energetic in works.** "Let him be pure" is Lightfoot's restoration on the basis of Clement of Alexandria's quotation. "Let him be pure in works" is indicated by the MSS. See p. 27.

XLIX. 2. **Bond of the love.** Cf. Col. iii. 14: "love, which is the bond of perfectness".

5. **Love covers . . .** Cf. 1 Pet. iv. 8; James v. 20: probably a proverbial saying. See p. 36. What follows is suggested by 1 Cor. xiii and shows the author's descent from the heights of St Paul's inspiration.

6. **The Lord** (δεσπότης). I.e. God. **His life** (ψυχὴν), if in the Jewish sense; but the Greek sense of "soul" is equally probable.

L. 3. **Abode of the godly.** Cf. 2 Esdras vii. 95: "They understand the rest which, being gathered in their chambers, they now enjoy with great quietness, guarded by angels, and the glory that awaiteth them in the last days." **Kingdom of God** CS. "Of Christ" LK (A is doubtful).

4. Isa. xxvi. 20; Ezek. xxxvii. 12.

5. **Perform.** Lit. "were performing". If the text is right, the meaning is: Blessed are we at the judgment, if we were performing previously . . .

6. Ps. xxxii. 1, 2, quoted Rom. iv. 7, 8, which continues "Cometh this blessedness . . ." and is imitated by Clement.

LI. 3. Num. xvi, Korah etc. **Whose condemnation.** Rom. iii. 8.

4. Ps. xlix. 14.

5. Exod. xiv. 23.

LII. 2. Ps. lxix. 30–32.

3. Ps. l. 14, 15.

4. Ps. li. 17.

LIII. 2. Deut. ix. 12 (Exod. xxxii. 7, 8). **Moses, Moses**
A; LSK omit.

3. Deut. ix. 13, 14 (Exod. xxxii. 9, 10).

4. Exod. xxxii. 31, 32.

LIV. 2. **I will depart, I will go.** See Cicero, *pro Milone*, 93, for the idea of leaving Rome for the sake of one's fellow-citizens, that they may enjoy tranquillity—"ego cedam atque abibo". **Community.** Democracy in the last resort? **Appointed presbyters** suggests that some only of the presbyters held office.

3. Ps. xxiv. 1.

LV. 2. **Amongst us Christians.**

4, 5. The first mention of the Book of Judith.

LVI. 1. **God's will.** Calm confidence that they are right.
Holy ones. I.e. angels.

3. Ps. cxviii. 18.

4. Prov. iii. 12; Heb. xii. 6.

5. Ps. cxli. 5.

6–15. Job v. 17–26.

16. Heb. xii. 7–11.

LVII. 3–7. Prov. i. 23–33.

LVIII. 2. **Faith, etc.** In apposition to the three previous phrases. See p. 22.

LIX. 2. Liturgical language, which begins formally in 3, has influenced 2. **Servant** (παῖς). Or "Child". The word comes in Acts iv. 27, 30, where A.V. translates "thy holy child Jesus", R.V. "thy holy Servant Jesus"; also in *Didache*, x. 2, "Jesus thy child". The exact meaning is uncertain.

Originally the word comes from the Servant passages of Isaiah, but here, and perhaps in Acts, the sense "Son" predominates. **Darkness to light.** Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 9.

3. **Grant us, Lord,** is added by Lightfoot. But Clement is quoting from the Roman liturgical prayers, introduced without a proper connecting link. Probably there was no fixed form, for in *Didache*, x. 7, the prophets "give thanks as they will" and as late as Justin's *Apology*, lxvii. 5, the president pronounces the Eucharistic prayers "according to his ability". But, as is inevitable in extempore prayer, the leader tends to get into a groove. The phrases can be illustrated to a large extent from the LXX and the Jewish synagogue prayers on the one hand and from the later liturgies on the other. Only a few parallels are given here. See p. 41. **Basic principle** (ἀρχεγόνον) is a Greek philosophical term. **Opening etc.** Cf. Eph. i. 18. **Highest... holy ones.** Cf. Isa. lvii. 15. For what follows cf. Isa. xiii. 11; Ps. xxxiii. 10; Job v. 11; 1 Sam. ii. 7; Deut. xxxii. 39; Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16; Judith ix. 11.

4. This, like the foregoing, may be illustrated from the Second of the Eighteen Benedictions, the chief prayer of the Jewish Liturgy (Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*, p. 128): "Thou sustainest the living with mercy, that quickenest the dead; that dost support the fallen with great mercies, that healest the sick, that loosest the bound... that killest and makest alive." See also *Apost. Const.* (Brightman, p. 22, ll. 9-13). **Let all...** Cf. 1 Kings viii. 60; 2 Kings xix. 19; Ezek. xxxvi. 23; Ps. c. 3.

LX. 1. The phrases are nearly all from the LXX, though there are no formal quotations.

2. **Handmaidens.** Clement thinks of the women assembled for worship. **Governors,** of the State.

4. **Our fathers,** of the O.T.

LXI. A most important passage, showing us the attitude of the Roman Christians, in spite of persecutions, to the State. The Church took over the Jewish practice of praying for the Emperor the more earnestly in that no suspicion of prayer to him could be tolerated. See Rom. xiii. 1 ff.; Tit. iii. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 13-17. There is no prayer for conversion, which has not yet appeared over the horizon as a possible thing. See p. 29.

2. **Their.** The Emperor and his chief officials.

LXII. 1. **Their way** (τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν) is added by Lightfoot. But the sense is sufficiently given by the verb.

LXIII. 1. **And...souls** (προσκληθῆναι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἀρχηγοῖς τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν) is restored by Lightfoot from S.

2. **The Holy Spirit.** Cf. lix. 1. See p. 22.

3. **From youth.** Perhaps their experience went back to St Paul (and St Peter) and like the Church of Rome as a whole they represented the authority of the founder of the Corinthian Church. Their names are given in lxv. 1.

LXIV. **People of his possession.** The "peculiar people" of Deut. xiv. 2; 1 Pet. ii. 9 (A.V.).

LXV. 1. **Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito.** Ephebus and Bito were clearly Greeks resident in Rome, freedmen of the imperial house who had taken Roman names from the *gens Claudia* (the Emperor Claudius) and the *gens Valeria* (his wife Messalina). Since they were elderly men whose memories went back to the days of the Apostles, it is a plausible supposition that they belonged to the Christians in "Caesar's household" mentioned in Phil. iv. 22. **Fortunatus.** A common name, attested at Corinth in 1 Cor. xvi. 17. It has been suggested that he was at Corinth and proposing to join the other two on their return to Rome. But he is clearly

one of the *envoys*. The way his name is added suggests that he may have been a junior, filling the same position in regard to the other two as Mark did to Barnabas and Saul in Acts xii. 25.

The subscription is given thus in A. S has: "Here endeth the first epistle of Clement, which was written by him to the Corinthians from Rome." K has: "The Epistle of the Romans to the Corinthians", which looks primitive.

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